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JAMES ROBERT HOPE-SCOTT

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MEMOIRS

OF

JAMES ROBERT HOPE-SCOTT

OF ABBOTSFORD, D.C.L., Q.C.

LATE FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

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WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE

By ROBERT ORNSBY, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE IN THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND: FELLOW OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND: LATE FELLOW OF TRIN. COLL. OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1884

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TO THE

HON. MRS MAXWELL SCOTT OF ABBOTSFORD

JAMES FITZALAN HOPE

MINNA MARGARET HOPE

JOSEPHINE MARY HOPE

AND

THERESA ANNE HOPE

THE SURVIVING CHILDREN OF THE LATE

JAMES ROBERT HOPE-SCOTT OF ABBOTSFORD

THIS BIOGRAPHY OF THEIR FATHER

IS DEDICATED

WITH THE KINDEST SYMPATHIES AND REGARDS

OF THEIR OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL FRIEND

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ONLY are required by way of introduction to the Second Edition of these Memoirs. I have carefully revised the whole, but have made no changes that appear to require notice beyond the correction of clerical or typographical errors, and of a few mistakes as to matters of fact, the instances in all three classes being generally of small moment. I have also been able to decipher here and there a word which had formerly baffled me in the MSS.

I have taken this opportunity of introducing a few additional documents of interest, especially an important letter of Mr. Gladstone's to Mr. Hope-Scott on his own early political career, for the use of which, with some other fresh extracts from their correspondence, I have to express my best thanks. A letter has also been added from the Hodgkin papers, which did not reach me in time for the First Edition, throwing further light on the Anglican period of Mr. Hope-Scott's religious history. Some striking passages from an article on Mr. Hope-Scott, contributed to *Macmillan's Magazine* by Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, have been inserted, and an early letter of Sir Francis to Mr. Hope, relating a touching incident connected with the death of Arthur Hallam. Its absence in the First Edition may serve as an example to show what interesting things a bio-

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grapher may sometimes feel himself obliged to exclude by the Law of Unity, which ought in general to govern the selection out of such a mass of materials as that presented by the Hope-Scott papers.

To the names of persons to whom I expressed my obligations in the Preface to the First Edition, I wish to add that of Edward Stanley Hope, Esq., one of H.M. Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, a nephew of Mr. Hope-Scott's, from whose correspondence some additional letters of interest are now introduced, and who most kindly communicated several valuable hints and memoranda for the First Edition. The Very Rev. John Canon Butt, of Arundel, and David Lewis, Esq. (formerly Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford), will also, I hope, accept this mention of their names as an acknowledgment of much kind assistance in furnishing original information.

In conclusion, I have to express my grateful sense of obligation to the many reviewers of this work. Their criticisms have shown all the value which was sure to be accorded to the numerous and important documents these Memoirs were intended to preserve, and generally an extremely kind appreciation of the labours of the writer; but, what is most satisfactory, they have given ample proof (if any were needed) that Mr. Hope Scott's life and career had left such an impression on men's minds as to justify the endeavour to place a record of them, however imperfect, on the roll of English biographical literature.

R. O.

VERONA, KINGSTOWN:
May 23, 1884.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

SINCE a memoir of Mr. Hope-Scott was undertaken, the question has often been asked, why it should be written, or what good was expected from its publication. And perhaps his friends have no right to be surprised at the question, considering how little, during his lifetime, was known to the world at large of what made his personal character far more interesting than his professional success. He filled, indeed, a conspicuous place in the society of his day. Of noble birth himself, he added to hereditary distinction, first, his marriage with the granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott, which connects his name with that of the Shakespeare of modern times; and by a second marriage, an alliance with the most illustrious house in England; but these were merely external, almost accidental associations, however they might set off a position already adorned by his own merits. The latter not only ranked him among the first advocates of his day, but revealed powers of combination and influence which might easily, under other

conditions, have given him a place among its first statesmen also. If a true account of such a career can be given, it must surely deserve attention, although there may have been many similar ones which have passed away without any permanent record.

Apart, however, from claims to remembrance of this kind, a more special and peculiar interest attached to Mr. Hope-Scott from his surroundings. The principal part of his life was passed in the most intimate communication with some of the master-spirits of the age, and chiefly those connected with the great and still unexhausted religious movement which has left such a mark on the Anglican Church in this half-century. He was the bosom-friend of Cardinal Newman, in his unreserved confidence through the stormy days of Tractarianism, as also in many a time of difficulty afterwards. For a long series of years he was not less intimate with Mr. Gladstone, was associated with him in an important religious and educational undertaking of his earlier years, and was one upon whose active co-operation the great statesman reckoned when his wonderful career was still a vision of the future. Their friendship, it is true, was at last brought to a standstill by the cause which has parted so many—the conversion of the one friend to Catholicity; but it has left many memories which, in justice to those who shall come after them, his friends could hardly suffer to perish. Again, that conversion was coincident in time and in motives, and had been arrived at in common with that of a third friend, whose name will also be written in the history of the Church—Cardinal Manning. Nor was Mr. Hope-Scott

less dear to men of similar mark on the Continent—to the Austrian statesmen Counts Frederick and Leo Thun; and he was cherished and admired by many persons of eminence abroad with whom his intimacy was not so great—Père Roothaan, Father-General S.J., Count Senfft, Manzoni, Montalembert. But there is one less celebrated name, which, after so many great ones, cannot justly be omitted. To the friendship of Mr. Badeley for Mr. Hope-Scott let not the place in memory be denied, which true and self-forgetting devotion so nobly earned—a place which might well illustrate any dialogue *de amicitiâ* which the eloquence of the future may bring forth.

To have attracted such friendships makes it evident that there must have been about Mr. Hope-Scott some very unusual fascinations; but his life deserves to be studied for its own sake, and not merely as forming part of more than one memorable group. His conversion to Catholicism has an interest beyond that of many of his contemporaries, first, in its extremely deliberate character, as the result of years of reflection, closed by the very outcry of Protestantism against the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England. The significance of the moment and the manner of this great event in his life is increased by the fact that he was not only a layman, as he continued to be, but a layman engaged in one of the most secular of laical pursuits. A large part of the conversions of that period were drawn (as was necessarily the case) from the clerical sections of society, and tended to pass into the ranks of the priesthood. As contrasted, therefore, with them, his change

appears to stand out among a very limited number. These considerations will, I hope, justify the space which it occupies in this memoir—a space which seemed also demanded by its connection with an event of such great significance in the religious history of the time as the institution of the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of Jerusalem.

But there is, further, a deep religious interest about his character from this circumstance, that, with an outer life of the most intense secular activity, he united in a wonderful degree an inner and secret life of religion; and thus showed that, in a soul living under obedience to Divine grace, but finding its duties and its trials in a field where the treasure it most loves might be thought unlikely to be hidden, these two things, in appearance so strangely incompatible, may yet coexist. In political life, indeed, the biographies of saints afford many examples of such a combination; but it has perhaps been more rarely exhibited in a professional career remote from politics, and yet as active as Mr. Hope-Scott's. The influence, too, which he exercised throughout his life, though living in such great retirement (except as regarded his profession), is another point which ought not to be forgotten, as showing the possibility of true and practical service being done by Catholics of position, apart both from Parliament and the platform.

That he had sufferings to go through, very sharp and frequent ones, is only saying he was a humble and faithful Christian; but those sufferings are all the more impressive as they form the background of a life, to

the world's eye, full of the brilliance given out by great worldly success, by wealth and an elevated place in society.

The use which he made of these advantages, and still more of those gifts which, by a metaphor so familiar that it tends to lose its original significance, we call *talents*, is abundantly evidenced by the many instances of his lavish yet thoughtful generosity in almsgiving, but especially of self-denying outlay of time and trouble in giving counsel to those who needed it. 'Counsel,' a wise Greek proverb tells us, 'is a sacred thing;' and with Mr. Hope-Scott it was such in the most emphatic sense. His personal and most pious devotion to the sick, of which the affectionate remembrance of his family has enabled me to preserve so many examples, will probably be new to many who were less familiarly acquainted with him, and, we may be sure, will bear the greater fruit for the years of silence that have passed over them.

The history of his foundation of churches in or near his estates on the Border and in the Highlands forms a most instructive part of his Catholic life; as showing how he applied his sound, practical judgment in a manner that gave to these works, great and liberal as they were, a special importance. Such examples point to what it is possible for a Catholic proprietor of consequence to effect, and how it ought to be effected; to the charitable use of wealth, whether acquired or hereditary. It will be seen how much was done by the means he afforded religious orders, or laborious secular priests, to gather together the scattered fragments of

Catholic populations—often, as is the way with fragments, so much more numerous than had been expected. His name, therefore, is not one which can be passed over in the annals of the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland, whether in the Highlands or Lowlands; and, however imperfect the collection of materials here brought together, it may still assist those who may hereafter study them, more capable than the writer of placing their significance in its true light.

A word of explanation may be added as to some personal details which may possibly appear trifling or irrelevant to the main subject of the book—and others, too, which may be thought more or less inconsistent with its principal motive, which, from the very character of that subject, ought to be prevailingly religious. As to the first point, I would remark that the book has a domestic as well as, or even more than, a public purpose. It was designed to preserve any particulars that might give Mr. Hope Scott's children, especially his son, who cannot remember his father, a distinct idea of his daily life, of his familiar friends, of the scenes that surrounded him at home and abroad: in short, to make it something of a family record, as well as a memoir in the ordinary sense of the word. And as to the second point, let it be remembered that, though not *of* the world, he was yet called upon to live in the world; and that his life will probably be read by many, and his example, it is hoped, may influence many, who would hardly open a religious biography of the usual type. I may add that, so far as these volumes have any pretensions to be a work of art, the idea upon which I have endeavoured to write

them is, that a memoir ought to be a portrait, and that a portrait cannot be lifelike if it altogether exclude details of the kind referred to. In themselves they may be unimportant, but not when viewed as making up the expression of the whole.

In conclusion, I beg to offer my most grateful thanks to the many persons who have favoured me either by the use of correspondence or oral information. The list of letters transcribed or quoted will be taken in acknowledgment of the former; it contains many names I should be glad to have enumerated here, yet I cannot omit an especial mention of letters which have been most largely or most prominently placed under contribution, and which certainly impart its chief value to the work, such as those of his Eminence Cardinal Newman; of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster; of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Lord Blachford, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Mrs. Bellasis, Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, G. S. Venables, Esq., Q.C., H. L. Cameron, Esq., and the late Rev. E. Coleridge. I wish particularly to thank the Rev. W. J. Amherst, S.J., as well for the early communication of many useful hints as for the thoughtful and striking Address delivered by him at Mr. Hope-Scott's funeral, which by his kindness I am allowed to publish with this Memoir. Oral recollections (where my kind informants would permit it) have been assigned to their respective sources. But above all, my respectful gratitude is due to the friend whom Mr. Hope-Scott himself most loved and reverenced, to his Eminence Cardinal Newman, not only for the above-mentioned use of the precious materials

contained in his correspondence, but also for kindly reading over the MS., and for affording me the advantage of his admirable judgment on various points, particularly on an important question as to the arrangement.

Since the above lines were written, both Cardinal Newman and Mr. Gladstone have further shown their deep interest in the subject of these volumes by reading them over in proof, and have favoured me with many kind suggestions as the work was passing through the press. For the permission to add to this biography the eloquent papers in which they have respectively given to the English language an imperishable record of the friendship which their names will render historic, due acknowledgment is elsewhere made.

R. O.

VERONA, KINGSTOWN:
Dec. 21, 1883.

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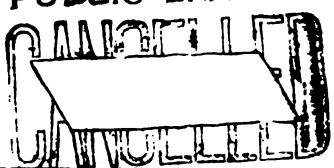

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MEMOIRS

OF

JAMES ROBERT HOPE-SCOTT.

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1812–1829.

Birth and Parentage of J. R. Hope-Scott—Ancestry—Family of Hope (Earls of Hopetoun)—Boyhood—Schooldays at Houghton-le-Spring and Eton—The Rev. E. Coleridge's Recollections of Mr. Hope—Visit to the Tuileries—Friendship of the Bourbons for Mr. Hope's Family.

JAMES ROBERT HOPE, afterwards HOPE-SCOTT, born at Great Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, on July 15, 1812, was the third son of General the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope of Rankeillour and Luffness, G.C.B. and M.P. for West Lothian, by his wife Georgina Alicia, third and youngest daughter of George Brown, Esq. of Elliston, in Roxburghshire.[1] Sir Alexander was the younger son of

[1] The other children of Sir Alexander Hope were: John Thomas Hope, some time M.P. for Okehampton; George William Hope, M.P. for Weymouth (1837, 1841), for Southampton (1842), and for Windsor (1859); Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1841–5); Louisa Dorothea, afterwards Lady Henry Kerr, died Jan. 18, 1884; Alexander Hope, 77th Reg. (died Jan. 12, 1835), Charles (died an infant). Sir Alexander Hope himself was born Dec. 9, 1769, ensign in 63rd Reg. Foot, 1786; afterwards an officer in the 1st Reg. of Foot Guards; constituted Lieutenant-Colonel of the 14th Reg. of Foot, 1794; appointed Governor of Tynemouth and Clifford's Fort, March 21, 1797; Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 1798; Deputy-Adjutant to the Forces under the Duke of York, 1799 (Sir Alexander's brother, Sir John, afterwards Earl of Hopetoun, was appointed Adjutant-

John, second Earl of Hopetoun. A short notice of the family of Hope will perhaps here be expected; for character depends so much upon race, that we can but imperfectly judge of a man, without possessing some information as to the stock from which he springs.

The founder of the Scottish line of the Hopes was John de Hope, who is said to have come to Scotland in 1537, in the train of Magdalene of France, the first queen of James V. From him was descended, in the tenth generation, the subject of this memoir. The original importance of the family, as well as that which they acquired in their new abodes, is amply proved by the illustrious alliances which appear throughout the pedigree. Among those from which Mr. Hope was lineally descended, may be named Jacqueline de Tott, a lady of French family, who married the grandson of John de Hope; Anne Foulis of Foulis and Leadhills in Lanarkshire, and daughters in immediate succession of the noble houses of Haddington, Annandale, and Leven and Melville. Through his mother,[2] Mr. Hope also traced descent from the family of Dundas of Dundas.

It is rather noteworthy, considering the religious faith which Mr. Hope himself adopted, that among his lineal ancestors some of the most conspicuous were ardent partisans of the Reformation in Scotland. Such was Edward Hope, one of the Commissioners for Edin-

General to the army serving under the Duke of York, Oct. 19, 1799); rank as Major-General from May 7, 1808; 74th Reg. conferred on him, Dec. 30, 1809.

[2] Lady Hope's mother, Mrs. Brown of Elliston, *née* Dundas of Dundas, granddaughter on her mother's side of Lord Forbes, was celebrated for her great beauty. It is worthy of mention that her home, Dundas Castle, in West Lothian, had been in the possession of her family for more than eight centuries, till unfortunately, in 1870, it became necessary to allow it to pass into other hands.

burgh to the Parliament of 1560, and a friend and supporter of John Knox; such also was the grandson of Edward, Sir Thomas Hope, a great lawyer, who was celebrated in 1606 for his defence of the six ministers tried for high treason for denying the King's authority in matters ecclesiastical, and who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, whilst holding the office of Lord Advocate of Scotland. In 1643, he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which latter great office has never since been held by a commoner. Sir Thomas Hope, while still a simple advocate, saw two of his sons raised to the Bench, in consequence of which the Court of Session granted him the privilege of wearing his hat while pleading, it being judged unbecoming for a father to appear uncovered before his children. He is now represented by Sir John David Hope, Bart., of Craighall and Pinkie, the head of the Hope family.

Sir John Hope of Hopetoun, sixth and youngest son of Sir Thomas, and also a Lord of Session, was eminent for his knowledge of mineralogy, and for the perfection to which he brought the art of mining, as applied to the working of some valuable mines that were part of his wife Anne Foulis's dowry in Lanarkshire. The family of Hope was raised to the peerage in 1703, in the person of their grandson, Charles Hope, K.T., by the title of Viscount Aithrie, Baron Hope and Earl of Hopetoun, who was one of the representative peers of Scotland from 1722 till his death in 1742. This first earl built Hopetoun House.

General Sir John Hope of Rankeillour (Mr. Hope's

uncle), who succeeded as fourth Earl of Hopetoun, had already received the honour of the peerage, as Baron Niddry, for his services in the Peninsular War. There is an equestrian statue of him, worth observing, at Edinburgh in St. Andrew's Square. Finally a branch of the House of Hope (of Craighall and Pinkie) has been established for many generations with much honour in Holland. Their ancestor, Harry Hope, was a brother of Sir Thomas, the first baronet, and emigrated to Holland in the seventeenth century. This branch, known as the Hopes of Amsterdam, is at present headed by Adrian Elias Hope, grandson of Thomas Hope, the celebrated author of 'Anastasius,' and nephew of the Right Hon. Alexander J. Beresford-Hope, M.P., of Bedgebury Park, Kent, by whom the name is worthily represented in England.

In both parents James enjoyed those advantages of example and association which are indeed so often wasted, but which, in characters like his, are sure to expand into something unusually sweet and noble. His father (as Colonel Alexander Hope) had served with high distinction in the Dutch campaign of 1794–5, after the return of the Duke of York to England, and was severely wounded in the action with the French at Buren, under Lord Cathcart, on January 8, 1795, 'after doing everything a most gallant officer could do at the head of his regiment to distinguish himself or do justice to those under his command.'[3] I do not know whether it was on the occasion just related that

[3] From a letter of Lord Cathcart to the Right Hon. H. Dundas, dated 'Caylenburgh, January 9, 1795.'

he was left for dead on the field, which did once happen to him when in Holland. The effects of the affair at Buren lasted all his life. His wound was in the shoulder, in which a bullet lodged which could never be extracted, paralysing his right arm and rendering him partially lame. He acquired, however, the art of writing with his left hand, and by an ingenious contrivance of his own, he managed to make his writing slope as if he had used his right. His services were rewarded by appointments of great trust and honour: he became Deputy Quartermaster-General, and (about 1812) Governor of the Royal Military College of Sandhurst, which he built under the Duke of York's directions (the institution having been at first temporarily established at Great Marlow). He also held rank in the Austrian army, and had resided as British envoy at the Court of Sweden. For more than thirty years he sat in Parliament for West Lothian. Sir Alexander's personal appearance was singularly striking. It is represented in enthusiastic language by one who knew him in later life, as recalling what might be imagined of Godfrey of Bouillon, or Raymond of Toulouse, or Tancred, 'the Achilles of the crusade,' worn and shattered by warfare, which gave a look of pain to his pale and beautifully-chiselled features and saint-like expression of face, in picturesque contrast with the pageantry of dress and orders. In spite, however, of being thus visibly disabled, Sir Alexander Hope displayed great energy both in his public and private life. His practical talents were conspicuously shown in the construction of the Royal Military

College. The draining, planting, building, and organisation of the whole establishment were regulated by him from the first, and it was he who added, some years later, two things long wanted, the riding school and the infirmary. He was full of cheerfulness and helpfulness to all who were in any way connected with him, or were under his charge.

The character of Lady Hope also seems to have been one of unusual interest, in keeping with the great elegance and beauty to which her portrait at Abbotsford witnesses.[4] She is described by those who knew her as a person who, in all the relations of life, made duty the first object, and fulfilled it most lovingly, cost what it might. Accordingly, she exercised an immense influence for good, not only over her own children, but over all about her. By her friends she used to be called (and still more might her poor neighbours have used the expression) 'a Sister of Charity.'

To return to the subject of this biography: the Royal Military College having been settled at Sandhurst, James lived there with his parents from 1813 to 1819. According to the witness who supplies the traits I have just given of the latter, a lady well acquainted with the family at Sandhurst in those days, he was an extremely beautiful child, 'resembling his mother in the entire blackness of his hair and the depth of his dark eye.' She adds: 'He was always at her left hand in the family pew at Sandhurst; and the deep devotion

[4] She was one of three beautiful sisters: the eldest, Jane Maria, became the wife of Thomas Trevor, last Viscount Hampden (excepting John, his brother, who survived him six weeks only); Margaret, the second sister, married Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., of Ballendean.

of his manner, his eyes never lifted during the service, I can recollect better than the look of any of the family. I think I see his young head bent in reverential devotion at this moment.' Another of the few who can share the same recollections, when he beheld his features in death, remarked, 'My memory goes back to the beautiful boy at Sandhurst.' Much of James's boyhood was, however, spent with his parents abroad. In the autumn of 1820 Sir Alexander Hope gave up the command of the Military College at Sandhurst (which he afterwards resumed at the Duke of York's request, in 1824), and removed with his family to Dresden, where they resided some time; passing from thence, in June 1821, through the Tyrol to Lausanne, and finally to Florence. James was thus enabled in childhood to lay the foundation of those attainments as a linguist for which in later life he was eminent, acquiring an early familiarity with the great European languages. In classical studies his private tutor about this time was the Rev. William Mills, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, whom I shall have occasion to notice further on. The residence at Florence formed an epoch in this period of James's life, as he there had an attack of typhus fever, lasting thirty days and confining him to his bed for ten weeks, an illness which probably laid the foundation for that constitutional lassitude from which he suffered throughout life. It is remembered that, though delirious, he always spoke the right language, English, French, German, or Italian, to the right person, and said the 'Our Father' even when at the worst. His recovery was considered due

to the unremitting care of a young English physician, Dr. Seymour, at that time studying fever-cases at Florence. Returning home about the end of July 1822, by Trent, through Germany to Hamburg, and thence to Leith, he arrived with his family at Hopetoun House, West Lothian, the seat of his uncle John, Earl of Hopetoun. George IV. was staying at Holyrood at the time—a noted event, as that sovereign was the first king who had visited Scotland since the days of the Stuarts; and Hopetoun House was also the last place upon Scottish ground at which he was entertained, before his embarkation at Port Edgar, a small harbour in the neighbourhood.[5] It may be worth mentioning that some years earlier, in 1816, James had been presented, as an infant, to Queen Charlotte, when she visited his father, to see the Royal Military College, then newly finished.

In January 1823, at the age of ten years and a half, James commenced his scholastic education at the Kepyer Grammar School of Houghton-le-Spring, near Durham, the then head-master of which was the Rev. William Rawes, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This school, which reckoned about a hundred pupils, had always held a respectable place among the educational institutions of England. Its history is not without interest, and might have left traces on the mind of the youthful scholar. It was founded in 1574 by the well-known Bernard Gilpin, styled by the Protestants 'the Apostle of the North,' and by John Heath of Kepyer, Esq., in honour of whom, and from the fact that its

[5] See R. Chambers's *Picture of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 47, Edinburgh, 1830.

endowments—such as they were—came principally from the dissolved Hospital of Kepyer in the immediate vicinity of Durham, the Grammar School of Houghton-le-Spring received its legal designation. It is thus singularly associated with a spot several miles distant from it, little known indeed to the ordinary traveller, but where mouldering archway, antique garden, green fields and rushing river, form a scene which, for its romantic beauty, may perhaps excuse this passing notice. Among the names of mark upon record in the books of the school may be mentioned Hugh Broughton, noted in the annals of Puritanism for his learning, and also for his cankered, unpleasing character; George Carleton, Fellow of Merton in 1560, Bishop of Llandaff, and one of the four English divines who attended the Synod of Dort; and the Rev. William Romaine, still remembered as a leader in the 'Evangelical' movement which commenced in the Established Church towards the end of the last century. At the time we are now engaged with, Houghton-le-Spring (as also to some extent the neighbouring Grammar School of Durham) was much frequented by the sons of Scottish gentlemen as the nearest point where a good English education was attainable. In particular, I have heard that no fewer than twelve members of the Hope family were being educated there about James's time, one survivor of whom—Sir John David Hope—furnishes the following recollections of his friend and kinsman in those early days:—

Not being new to me [James] did not produce so vivid an impression on me, as I had always known and liked him; but

my impression is, he was always very popular with the other boys. He was extremely handsome, almost more so than afterwards. He was always naturally refined—kept somewhat to himself, without being exclusive; and I remember his having German books and reading them, as he told me, to keep up his German. I fancy also he knew he was to go to Eton, and that this was only preparatory.

I have myself but hazy ideas of that time, but my idea is, that James was known to be clever both by masters and boys. We had a large clique of Hopes in the school, and we hung a good deal together: a practice, I may observe, we all continue in after-life, and is one cause, I think, why the family, in all its branches, have been so united.

Sir J. D. Hope goes on to allude to circumstances of a later date, in which it appeared that this spirit of clanship was a marked feature in his kinsman's character, and bears testimony to the efficiency of his advice and influence in difficulties. 'He was always safe and sound in his counsels, and spared no labour to forward them.' As to Houghton, he adds, what I have heard from other sources was an honourable characteristic of the school, that 'the boys were well fed and well cared for bodily, and that was of consequence to James, who was delicate,' referring to the fever at Florence, already noticed. 'I am sorry,' concludes Sir John, 'I can tell you so little, and would willingly do anything to show my liking, and latterly admiration, for poor James, without being able to say precisely when it began.' [6]

These recollections are quite as much as one could expect at so great a distance of time and relating to a schoolfellow who only remained at Houghton for a twelvemonth. Mr. S. Laing, M.P. for Wick, is another

[6] Sir J. D. Hope to Lady H. Kerr, July 10, 1873.

surviving contemporary of Mr. Hope-Scott's Houghton schooldays, who as his senior, and about leaving at the time when he came, has not been able to supply details of that period, but remembers him as 'a bright, intelligent little fellow;' and this completes the portrait of him at that date, so far as it can now be recovered.

In 1824, James was removed to the Rev. Edward Polehampton's preparatory school for Eton at Greenford Rectory, near London, where he was joined by his younger brother Alexander. Among his other companions there (the school included only about twelve boys) is named Lord Selkirk. That James was soon at their head appears from an interesting letter addressed to him by his eldest brother John T. Hope (Christ Church, March 6, 1824).

He entered Eton on Michaelmas Day 1825, his 'dame's' house being Mrs. Holt's, and his tutor the Rev. Edward Coleridge. Here he remained for about three years. Several letters of his belonging to this period have been preserved, but are so little different from what any other Eton schoolboy might have written, and afford so few hints of what he was going to turn out as a man, that it is unnecessary to offer any extracts from them. He is 'sent up for good' (for a copy of Latin verses on 'Pharaoh in the Red Sea'), and gets the established equivalent for that honour from his dame, the guerdon of 10*s.* 6*d.*; or, he has had 'wretched subjects for verse all the half;' or, he describes a quarrel which breaks up the breakfast-mess; or a wet day at Eton; or the procession of the boats; or asks for, or acknowledges, good things from home. I may

here notice that he was 'fag' to W. K. Hamilton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and a dear friend of his maturer years. Nothing, however, which is obtainable from these Eton letters seems to reveal that marked and special character in the writer which was waiting the hour of its expansion.

We learn more from some letters of his tutor, Mr. Coleridge, and I do not suppose that my readers will fail to be interested by the passages I shall quote from them, illustrating as they do the opinion he had formed of James at that early age, and also giving a picture of the Eton education of the time. Revolutionised as public education has become, the training of more than half a century ago will soon be scarcely remembered, so that facts, however familiar to the rapidly diminishing few who can still recall the system, will to others have the value of original evidence on the merits of an institution which has intimately affected the social and political life of England. It was a leading object of Eton studies then, as it had been for generations, to discipline the taste and powers of expression by means of continually learning Latin poetry by heart (which was called 'repetition'), and by incessant practice in writing it. This method, strangely chosen as it may appear to some in the present day, trained very successfully many a great statesman and orator as well as scholar; and Mr. Hope was an example of the results which it often effected. Although not attaining to a very high degree of proficiency, he had evidently given his tutor the impression that there was something in him more than ordinary. Mr. Coleridge, in letters of the year 1828 to

Sir Alexander Hope, chiefly adverts to the over-florid and inaccurate style of James's compositions, which he thought betrayed too great a devotion to Lord Byron and to Ossian. 'He is not so grammatically and verbally correct as he ought to be; he is too fond of sacrificing strict rules to *effect* or his own *convenience*. I have the same complaint against him from his German master. He must be induced to rein in his too facile powers, and make exactness in grammar the *sine quâ non* of every sentence he reads or writes; otherwise he will fail most lamentably at Oxford. All his flash and glow will not avail him in that dry and logical region without a substratum of solid material laid by exact rule.' This was on March 24, 1828. In conversation, Mr. Coleridge used to say that he feared James would try to climb too high without laying a solid foundation of brick and mortar. The following letter, written just before the summer holidays of the same year, when his pupil's Eton life was drawing to its close, presents the same general view, though with some qualifications, and gives an outline of the course of reading then recommended to a promising youth about to migrate from Eton to Christ Church:—

Rev. Edward Coleridge to Gen. the Hon. Sir Alex. Hope.

Eton College: July 23, 1828.

My dear Sir,—. . . I shall give you the general opinion of [your son James's] progress which Mr. Okes and myself have formed upon due consideration of his late productions. That he is a boy of much more than common abilities cannot be doubted: his most careless exercises and most slovenly construing have always something about them which proves that.

But that he has not yet arrived at accuracy of scholarship or of taste in either, is equally evident from the frequent confusion of metaphor, exaggerated thoughts and expressions, and want of perspicuity in both. I have again and again endeavoured to persuade him, that as in mechanics the greatest known powers are the most simple ones, so also in poetry the most striking effects, whether grand or pathetic, are produced from the simplest causes, and that this is irrefutably proved by a reference to the noblest passages of Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, and the Divines of the Stuart reigns, but more especially to the Scriptures, viewed solely as literary productions. In them he will see how simple thoughts may, by apt expressions and graces, and an exact juxtaposition of words, be rendered perfect in their way, without losing their original simplicity—how every thought, allusion, or resemblance, bearing on one point, meet in one end, and fulfil the object whereat all the members of the sentence aimed [qy.?]. I have advised him to read during the holidays, with great care, the book of Job, and the Acts of the Apostles, the 'Frogs' of Aristophanes; to put the twenty-three first chapters of Thucydides into question and answer with great care; and to draw out a short but careful chronological parallel of the histories of Greece and Rome (and if he chooses, the Jews), down to the taking of Corinth by Mummius. He will do well, also, to get his brother to examine him in the Æschylus and Sophocles he has done during the last ten weeks in private business, as also in the grammatical and historical questions he has answered. . . . I must not close this, after my apparent dispraise, without adding his due meed of praise also. He has really exerted himself very much this school-time, and has improved himself in his composition and construing quite as much as I could have expected in so short a time, though not by any means to the degree which I could wish; and he has fairly earned the distinction he has, I am most happy to say, gained. . . .

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

EDWARD COLERIDGE.

The careful judgment of this painstaking teacher of the old school is verified by a copy of James's Latin verses, now before me, which had been 'sent up' previous to Easter, 1827. The subject is *Πηνειὸς ἑλισσόμενος διὰ Τεμπέων* ['the Peneus rolling through Tempe']. The young poet shows all the facility which exercises of that kind are only too certain to give at his age; the strong and practical talent which afterwards displayed itself could hardly of course be guessed from this branch of his training. A few lines may amuse the reader, who can recall a similar style of education:—

Ah! quoties ponti Phœbo repetente lavacrum
Saxa coloratis emicuere jugis,
Suave, sub occiduæ dubio splendore diei,
Naiadum madidæ cernere fila comæ.
Suave, tremiscentes molli sinuamine fluctus
Cernere, per riguum dum sonat unda nemus,
Aurea Phœbei recubant ubi lumina risûs
Queîs variat liquidas Cymodocea domos.

James spent a part of the last vacation of 1828 at Featherston, his uncle, Lord Wallace's[7] seat in Northumberland, shooting and fishing, accompanied in some of these excursions by his schoolfellow, Lord Selkirk. His letters at this time show a zeal for field-sports in which, partly from conscientious reasons, he ceased to indulge when he reached maturity, though he remained an excellent shot. An anecdote given further on (page 20) affords an interesting illustration.[8] He

[7] Lord Wallace was J. R. Hope's uncle by marriage, having married Lady Jane Hope, daughter of John, second Earl of Hopetoun, and widow of the Right Hon. Harry Dundas, created Viscount Melville.

[8] I find him net-fishing in Loch Moidart in 1858 (letter of Mrs. Hope-Scott's to Mr. Badeley, August 27, 1858).

quitted Eton finally on December 8, 1828. Although his career there, as regards his studies, could not be described as anything extraordinary, still he must have been looked upon as belonging to the *élite* of the school, since, on his leaving, the Head-master, Dr. Keate [immortalised in 'Eothen'] asked for his portrait—an honour reserved to the best of his scholars.[9] 'Hope-Scott's portrait is to be found there, among his most distinguished Eton contemporaries (writes Sir Francis Doyle); I only wish it was a better likeness, and did him more justice.'

I have heard scarcely any anecdotes that would serve to illustrate his character at this early stage; yet, remembering the line in which he was destined to achieve eminence, one little family tradition may be of some interest. A youthful party had assembled at his house, and were entertaining each other in the game called 'What is my thought like?' on which occasion James astonished and delighted them all by a clever and amusing speech for twenty minutes, and received the applause of one of the elders in an exclamation that was recalled many a long year afterwards: 'Well done, Jem the lawyer!' To resume: he appears to have looked back on Eton with that mixture of affection and dissatisfaction which might be expected from a mind like his on such a review. 'I like Eton,' he said to his tutor, Mr. Mills, 'but if I have a son, he shall never go there.' He had, it is remembered, found himself

[9] Letter of the Hon. J. Bruce (Earl of Elgin) to J. R. Hope, January 5, 1829, and of Sir F. H. Doyle to Mr. E. S. Hope, December 5 (1874). There is another portrait of Mr. Hope, belonging to the same period, painted for his tutor, the Rev. Edward Coleridge, by Mrs. Carpenter.

miserable in the earlier part of his Eton days, though he afterwards enjoyed himself; and he probably brought away from that famous place of education the advantages which most youths capable of spontaneous profit, though not as yet of self-improvement, have derived from it—a taste cultivated by some good classical studies, verse-making in particular; a great deal of knowledge of the world as exhibited in the smaller world of a school, where freedom and law are allowed mutual play in a manner unknown out of England; and finally, some very valuable friendships destined to continue for years, though, for reasons which as yet showed no signs of emerging, not for the duration of life.

His matured opinion of Eton (irrespective of course of religion) may be gathered from the following passage in an important speech he delivered before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the *Public Schools Bill*, as counsel for his old school, on May 22, 1865:—

> Whoever ventured to say there was any other school like Eton? And if it has faults, my Lords, why, the ocean has more dirt in it than poor little streams. You must have a system with imperfections when it works out, as this has done, from the natural habits of the people of England, without any direction of statutes or prescription of patents as to how it is to be conducted . . . It sprang up of itself. The English character made it, and in return it makes the English character. It makes, my Lords, the English gentleman, I will venture to say, as well as any institution that can be produced for the purpose. I do not say that it makes second-rate men of literature and science, because the English character did not require them to be made; otherwise, long since they would have been made. The truth is, that it is in the unsystematic

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and natural growth of this school that you find at once its force and its weakness. Its force, because it draws to it almost the whole of the prime boys of England; I am speaking now, of course, *pace* the other schools; at any rate, in proportions hardly ever known in any other school. That constitutes its force. Its weakness arises from the fact that it is a plant of natural growth, arising out of the English character, and meeting its wants; and those wants, I venture to say, in the main it has met, and does continually meet.[1]

At Eton, however, though a part of his character no doubt shaped itself, the key-note of his existence had not yet been struck. There is nothing, so far, either in his own letters or in those of persons about him, to show that, up to about sixteen, he had had religious impressions of any strength, or that his was one of those minds which, in very early youth, anticipate manhood by any striking intellectual development: nor does anything appear to the contrary. To all outward appearance, he was simply a fine Eton boy, quick-witted, manly and pleasing, indolent rather than otherwise, though capable of exertion and fairly well prepared for Oxford studies. At the same time, indications of a deeper character, as we have seen, had not escaped the notice of a sharp though youthful observer in his infancy; and it is certain that at home he had always been considered a more than usually earnest and thoughtful boy. The religious element may have been obscured by the atmosphere that surrounded him, requiring fresh conditions in order to gain that energy which in the end made it the guiding principle of his course. I conclude these Eton memoranda with an

[1] Report of Select Committee Public Schools Bill, 1865, p. 209.

interesting letter of Mr. Coleridge to Miss Hope-Scott [now the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell-Scott], in which some particulars are given which I have not introduced into the narrative, and references also to other matters belonging to a later date, but which I prefer not to disjoin from the letter in which they appear :—

The Rev. Edward Coleridge to Miss Hope-Scott.

Mapledurham: July 15, 1873.

My dear Miss Hope-Scott,—You ask me to do a hard thing: in my 74th year to remember and set down in writing my impressions of your dear father when he was my pupil at Eton. At this distance of time, nearly 50 years, I can only speak in general terms of him as a boy. The more so, as I was myself only 25 years old when Sir Alexander placed him under my care, and did not then take such note of the character and powers of my pupils as I did after a longer experience as a teacher . . . His first appearance won my heart; for, added to great beauty of face and person was remarkable sweetness of expression and a more than usual grace of manner. This latter, I doubt not, was in great measure derived from his parents, who were both singularly noble and graceful in their bearing . . . At the time of his entrance he spoke Italian freely, and German with a peculiarly good accent; and even then evinced that niceness and correctness of taste in matters of art, for which, as you know, he was so conspicuous in after-life. This led afterwards to great intimacy with the keeper of the famous collection of engravings at Dresden [Herr Gruner], and to the expenditure of a considerable sum of money on reproductions in a grand style from the finest pictures in Italy of Scriptural subjects. While at Eton, he became intimate with my accomplished brother-in-law, the present Bishop of Chichester (the Right Rev. Dr. Durnford), then a private tutor there, and with him he used to read German under a good little man called Troppaneger, who afterwards, through Hope's influence, became German Professor at Woolwich. But to go

back . . . He was placed in the lower Remove of the Remove in September, and gaining a double Remove at Christmas, he got into the Fifth Form. He was next in *school* to the late Lord Elgin, as he was also a Fellow of Merton with him a few years afterwards. In my Pupil Room his most distinguished compeers were G. K. Rickards, T. W. Allies, C. Edmonstone, and Lord de Tabley, and Rawson W. Rawson, still living; and J. Louis Ricardo, Robert Keate, Alexander and Duncan Chisholm, Henry Herbert, and Samuel Gambier, alas! too soon called, like himself, to their rest. He was a fair, not perfect, Greek and Latin scholar, was sent up for good six times, and held a highly respectable position in the Upper Division of the Fifth Form when he left, beloved by many, and by none more than by the old tutor who survives and laments him.

Once, I *think while* he was still my pupil, I went down and spent a few days with him, first at Luffness and then at Rankeillour. From the former beautiful old house, we went over to the Bass Rock, and amused ourselves with our guns at considerable expense to the lives of solan geese, kitty-wakes, &c.; and well do I remember his making a most extraordinary shot at a gull standing alone on a projecting crag, which he killed with a rifle at 200 yards off. At Rankeillour we had a day's roe shooting in Lord Leven's woods, without any success; were present on a Sunday at a Scotch celebration, and also at a reception by Lord and the lovely Lady Leven, of old Mr. Marten, the grandfather of the celebrated Irving, and a huge train of Masters Irving and others, male and female, in a great old oak room. I connect it now in memory with many pictures, by Nash and others, of such old chambers in Puritan times, with a daïs in the window on which the great folks sate.

In after-life I saw him frequently, and often corresponded with him about church and colonial matters, until, to my unspeakable sorrow, he left our communion, constrained, as he himself assured me, by the example of that glorious man J. H. N., to whom he was almost spell-bound. The influence of the Saint of Littlemore was irresistible. And now I am going to tell you of an incident in your dear father's life, of which I dare say you are ignorant, but which Lord Henry

Kerr and your aunt can probably confirm. When staying with them at Dittisham, he consulted the present Bishop of Chichester as to taking Orders in the English Church, and the Bishop rather counselled him to do so, if thoroughly in his heart inclined to such a dedication of his powers. The letter in which he asked advice is, I believe, still in existence. You may wonder, perhaps, at his having written on such a subject to my brother-in-law rather than to me. But I should tell you, that when he came to Eton, he was specially commended to the former by Mr. Mills, his [Bp. Durnford's] co-Fellow of Magdalen College, who had lived abroad as private tutor to him and his two elder brothers John and George. They soon became intimate, as an advanced boy and a youthful young man often are; and their studies in German and fancy for homœopathy drew them very closely together.

These are nearly all the *particulars* which I can tell you of your dear father's schoolboy and young life. Speaking *generally*, I may say that I never had a pupil more to my mind, and that I have never known a more graceful, gifted, and loveable man in every relation of life.

I loved him from my heart, and though his departure from our communion caused an *outward*, only *outward*, break in the bands of affection that linked us together, I still never felt in my heart that I loved him less because he had done what I could not approve. Even had I lost him by this change of creed, I should be inclined to say and feel with Tennyson:

> It's better to have loved and lost
> Than never to have loved at all.

Ever, my dear child, your loving friend,

EDWARD COLERIDGE.

Mr. Hope left Eton on December 8, 1828, and was matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on December 10, having then not quite reached the age of sixteen years and a-half, but did not go into residence for some time later. During the interval, in 1829, he paid a visit at Paris, with his mother and aunt, Viscountess Hampden,

to the Duchesse de Gontaut, of the house of Gontaut-Biron, a lady in charge of the royal children, the then heir to the throne, since called Henri Cinq (Count de Chambord), and his sister, Louise de Bourbon, styled Mademoiselle, afterwards Duchess of Parma. Mr. Hope was often received by the Duchesse de Gontaut at the Tuileries, in her private apartments with the royal children, and was presented at that Court, thus witnessing the very last gleams of the *ancien régime*, at an age when such impressions leave deep traces. The appearance of the handsome Scottish youth, in the antique black Court dress and ruff then still used, now only known in pictures and in the Papal Court, is remembered as very striking. This visit to Paris arose from relations of much earlier date. Mr. Hope's maternal grandfather, Mr. Brown of Elliston, had frequently received the royal exiles of France during their first sojourn in Scotland, his house in Edinburgh being their constant resort for society; and on this hospitality was founded a long friendship. The Bourbons have been accused of learning nothing and forgetting nothing. At least they have never forgotten their friends; and this connection with the Hope family was renewed in the later exile of Holyrood House, and always kept up. It was, indeed, near relatives of the Hopes, Sir David and Lady Wedderburn, who prepared the way for the Bourbons coming to Scotland; and who applied to Sir Walter Scott to write an article to prevent the popular opposition which it was, perhaps causelessly, feared might show itself to their sojourn in that hospitable, though mournful abode, where fallen royalty sheltered itself for a time.

CHAPTER II.

1829–1832.

Oxford Days—Christ Church Friends—Undergraduate Studies—Verses on Plato—Change comes over him—Recollections of Sir Francis H. Doyle—Mr. Hope decides for the Law—Death of 'Teaty'—Mr. Hope's Charity to the Sick—Mr. Leader and Mr. Hope—Continental Tour with Mr. Leader—Visit to Tetschen—The Thun Family—Lines on Philosophy—Mr. Hope takes his B.A. degree.

Mr. Hope went into residence at Christ Church in the Michaelmas Term of 1829. He was there surrounded by friends, many of whom afterwards attained the highest distinctions in the State. Among these may be named James Ramsay, afterwards Marquis of Dalhousie, and James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, successively Governors-General of India. Mr. Gladstone was also a contemporary of Mr. Hope's at Christ Church, as he had been at Eton, but at neither had they seen much of each other, though destined to become intimate friends for many years, and to be long associated in the most confidential manner, in carrying out more than one important undertaking connected with religion. On the records of that friendship, whether consisting in their correspondence, or in the recollections kindly furnished by Mr. Gladstone himself, I must depend for some of the most interesting pages I have to offer to the reader. Other names are, Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, also a contemporary of Mr. Hope's at Eton, and very much in his society there, and who of late years has been

Professor of Poetry at Oxford; Mr. John Temple Leader, M.P. for Westminster, and well known as the Editor of the 'Westminster Review;' Sir Robert Phillimore; Robert Scott, afterwards of celebrity as Master of Balliol and lexicographer; the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, now Archdeacon of Maidstone and Canon of Canterbury,[1] who was greatly valued and respected by the 'Church party' formed in later years; Walter Kerr Hamilton, who had been Mr. Hope's elder schoolfellow at Eton, and who became his brother-Fellow at Merton, Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and Bishop of Salisbury. Less familiar names are Joseph Anstice, Henry Jeffries, and Herbert Kynaston, students of Christ Church, and probably of Mr. Hope's circle. Finally, from a little pamphlet, entitled 'Rules of the Christ Church Rifle Club,' and recording a meeting of that society, held in Lord Lincoln's rooms on May 20, 1831, it appears that the original members of the club were Lord Lincoln (the late Duke of Newcastle), *President*; Mr. J. R. HOPE, *Treasurer*; Lords Abercorn and de Tabley, the Hon. C. Canning (afterwards Lord Canning and Governor-General of India), Mr. H. Glynne. New members elected on that day were Lord Alford, the Hon. F. Craven, Hon. E. Curzon, Mr. H. H. Vaughan, and Hon. J. Hewitt.

To these must be added his 'out-college' friends. Mr. Hope was not of standing enough to have been a member of a celebrated, though private club brought

[1] For some interesting particulars relating to this appointment, see a letter of J. R. H. to Mr. Gladstone given *infra*, p. 162.

together at Christ Church about the year 1831, 'the twelve friends of Charles Wordsworth' (since President of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and Bishop of St. Andrews), though he certainly knew some of them intimately. Among these may be especially mentioned Mr. William Palmer, of Magdalen College, and his brother Roundell, now Earl of Selborne; in the death of the former of whom, in 1879, the world has lost a mind which, for minute as well as extensive information on ecclesiastical, antiquarian, and artistic subjects, was one of the most extraordinary which this age has produced, and whose memory is cherished as among the very few, not only for his rare generosity in communicating the ample stores of his knowledge, as well as other gifts, but still more for his patience under great suffering, his charity, and his true kindness as a friend. With him Mr. Hope first became acquainted through his early friend and private tutor, the Rev. Wm. Mills of Magdalen, and they were associated in a youthful political movement of that day at Oxford, the getting up of an address to thank William IV. for having refused to create additional peers in order to pass the Reform Bill. Their friendship underwent no interruption throughout life. To the same set belonged also some distinguished members of Oriel College, Mr. Samuel F. Wood (brother of Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now Lord Halifax), an excellent man, and intimate friend and correspondent of Mr. Hope's, who went to the Bar, but died early; Sidney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea; and Sir Frederick Rogers, now Lord Blachford. A long and interesting conversation at which I was

present at Abbotsford, the year before Mr. Hope-Scott's death, between him and Cardinal Newman, might, I am sorry to say, have rendered the preceding account much more perfect, many particulars having been given on that occasion which I cannot now recall, and many names alluded to by Mr. Hope-Scott himself, as of those who had shared in the aspirations natural to young and ardent minds, as they paced the quadrangles of Christ Church, deep into the night. 'In a few years,' he said, 'how completely will all this be forgotten!' The greater reason to try, before it is quite too late, to collect all that can yet be remembered of a life as beautiful as any which the generation now passing away has witnessed.

Mr. Hope's many attractive qualities naturally created even a greater impression at Christ Church than they had at Eton: his good looks in the first place, his wit, his tact, and his insight into character could not but make him conspicuous among his youthful compeers; and for the first year or so of his residence he was the most brilliant and popular undergraduate in college.[2] He seems to have entered on academic life with great satisfaction, and the following letter to his sister gives us an amusing picture which every one who has been a freshman can realise:—

J. R. Hope, Esq. to his Sister, Miss Hope (afterwards Lady Henry Kerr).

Christ Church: Jan. 27, 1830.

My dear Puss,—I have got into a set of rooms for all this term, I hope, though it is very uncertain. They belong to the Rev. T. V. Short, late censor of Christ Church [since Bishop of St. Asaph], and tutor to that scamp J. R. Hope, who owes the

[2] Sir Francis H. Doyle to Mr. E. S. Hope, December 5, 1874.

possession of them at present to the kindness of Mr. Veysie alone, as the Dean has no concern in it. I know no luxury equal to the independence of 'one's own rooms,' except falling asleep after dinner, and one or two more similar indulgences. I can absolutely hardly sit still in them, but must needs go pacing up and down, and sitting on every chair in turn to satisfy myself I am actually lord and master. I have no news beyond this: so with all kinds of love, *addio, mia cara.*

J. R. HOPE.

He passed his 'Responsions' or 'Little-go' on February 18 of the same year; and I find him the following month attending the lectures of Mr. Mills, whose name has been more than once mentioned, and who was now Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University. He had a great opinion as well as affection for his old tutor, but that does not hinder his giving his sister a description of the lectures, which, boyish as it is, I am disposed to quote, both as characteristic of the writer, and also as affording a curious notion of the style of professorial teaching of the period.

Christ Church: March, 1830.

Mr. Mills has been pounding away at the origin of ideas, sensations, impressions, subjective and objective qualities, &c., till he has thoroughly mystified all my undergraduate friends, who are, however, in general very much delighted with anything they can't understand: in his first public lecture he enumerated the advantages attending the study of philosophy; and from thence proceeded to give advice to those of his hearers who might early be called to the exercise of offices connected with this our blessed constitution: and told them very impressively that unless they applied themselves to useful knowledge, the lower classes would get over their heads; in short, that the scouts would become gentlemen-commoners, and the bed-makers countesses, unless they could keep that start by education which they had obtained by rank and affluence. He

then proceeded to recommend a course of study, consisting of some hard Dutch authors, and wound up by a thorough knowledge of Blackstone's 'Commentaries.' His language is very beautiful, and I take his word for the philosophy being sound. Your affectionate brother,

J. R. HOPE.

Of the line of reading pursued by Mr. Hope in the following year (1831), we are enabled to form a good general idea from a small collection of papers in his hand, endorsed: 'Academica.' It includes, for example, a long note or essay on the well-known question in the first book of the 'Nicomachean Ethics' relating to the state of the dead; notes from Cudworth, Berkeley, and Warburton; a paper (in the hand of his tutor, Mr. Mills) on the disputed points connected with the σημεῖον in Aristotle's 'Rhetoric;' notes from Burke's 'Abridgment of English History;' a parallel taken from Paruta, to show the causes of the inferiority of Venice in power, compared with Rome; notes on Old Testament History; hints on the study of the Scriptures, with a prayer before reading them, taken from Barker's Bible of 1595. I do not find any mathematical note-books in the parcel, and have reason to think that Mr. Hope's tastes never led him in that direction. He certainly had great practical insight into mechanical subjects, as was often shown in his examination of witnesses in railway cases in after-life, and a great fondness for architecture, civil as well as ecclesiastical, but he seems not to have been drawn to those scientific studies, of which the latter branches of knowledge are applications.

The papers, however, we have just examined bear traces, if I mistake not, of much deeper interest, as revealing the commencement of a great moral and reli-

gious change in his mind. I use the word 'commencement' strictly, for the change, as I conjecture, took a rather considerable time to work out. On a blank page of one set of those notes are some clever pencilled emblems, by whom drawn I do not know,[3] but which represent, among other similitudes, youths pulled in different directions by passion and reason, in allusion probably to a striking passage in the 'Ethics.'[4] They contain also the following copy of verses in Mr. Hope's hand, with many alterations in them; they are headed, 'Plato's Republick II.,' and are evidently suggested by chapter viii. in that book:—

If in the fulness of satiety
I do obey the still small voice within,
And make my heart the altar of just thoughts,
What cometh, prithee, of this excellence?
For though the inward lining of my cloak
Be fair and honest, yet the outward show
May lie in seeming of iniquity,
And wrong its owner with the jealous world.
But if, refining on injustice, I
Can bear the semblance of what men should be,
And yet be what they are—with either hand
Grasp the sweet private benefit of vice
And open meed of bold hypocrisy—
Who shall gainsay me? True, the mask may fall,
And leave me naked. But who hopes the prize
Must meet the struggle, and unflinchingly
Face that which makes or mars him. To this end
Will we raise up academies of vice,
And form us guilds of corporate deceit.
Our tongues with oily smoothness shall betray;
Our hands be ready where our cunning fail,
And force redress our bluntness. But the Gods—

[3] The Rev. Walter Sneyd of Keil was contemporary—I think, friend; and a very remarkable comic artist.—*W. E. G.*

[4] Arist. *Eth.* IX. iv. 9.

Their purest nature of unsoilèd truth
Knows not deceit. Their all-eternal frames
May not be harmed by earthly violence—
Nor need they. Oxen buy immunity,
And blood of goats atone for human gore.
Out of the portion of our wickedness
Will we frame spells of golden influence
And cast them o'er their vengeance—and when Death
Drag us unwilling to his empty Hall,
Not one, but oft-repeated hecatombs
Shall still the clamour of hell's angry jaw,
And win us from its impotent control.

The tone of these verses tallies very much with other evidence relating to the period about which I suppose them to have been written. The reader will recollect that 'for the first year or so' of Mr. Hope's residence at Christ Church, he was conspicuous amidst a brilliant throng of the noble youths of his time. The same well-informed witness, Sir Francis Doyle, from whom that notice was derived, goes on to add the following brief but suggestive recollections of a different hue :—

At the end of that time a change came over him, and he fell into a condition of gloomy thought and self-introspection, the result of which was, that he separated himself a good deal from his acquaintances, and lived with only a few men. I was one of those few; Charles Wordsworth, the Scotch Bishop, was another; Mr. Leader, the *ci-devant* member for Westminster, was a third; [Robert] Curzon, the late Lord de la Zouche, perhaps a fourth; and there may have been one or two more. This disquiet and dissatisfaction with life had not, at that time, assumed a distinctly religious character; by slow degrees, however, it passed into religion, and he became a High Churchman. ['*Not* at first,' remarks another of his contemporaries.]

From the evidence to be gathered from these and other sources, I should infer that the change which had

been there observed may have commenced about the spring of 1831, when he was in considerable perplexity about the choice of a profession. His mother's wish was that he should take orders in the Church of England. The question lay between that and the Bar, and he long fluctuated between the two alternatives. For the present, he seemed to have made up his mind to adopt the legal profession, and gave his reasons for so doing in the following letter to his mother, which, however, he has endorsed, '*Reasons against going into the Church*' (*never sent*) :—

J. R. Hope to his Mother.

Leamington: Friday, April 8, 1831.

My dear Mama,—With regard to what you said in your last respecting my going into the Church, I perfectly agree with you that it ought not to be thought of as an idle profession—indeed so far from it, that I am accustomed to consider the duties of a clergyman as attended by greater labour and more actual responsibility than those of any other class—but at the same time the inducements, or at least the means of idleness, are proportionately great; for while a certain degree of leisure and affluence is allowed, and is in fact necessary for a proper discharge of the offices of the Church, the right employment of that leisure and affluence is left entirely to the sense of duty in the individual; so that the condition of a clergyman is such that he must either from his circumstances be incapable of performing his duty, or, if provided for, all external obligation to work is taken away. If, therefore, I felt that confidence in myself which I conceive to be necessary for such a situation, I should readily choose the Church; but I think that if I have not sufficient steadiness and application to be a lawyer, I am far from being fit to become a clergyman; as the former profession has much to excite and keep up the attention as it advances, while for the latter a strict and unvaried rule of

principle and practice is laid down. In short, the law will oblige me either to be something or nothing—'to make a spoon or spoil a horn,' as Teaty expresses it. In the Church I may, if I feel so inclined (and I am afraid I should), spend a life which, without being positively bad, would be neither very useful to others nor honourable to myself: and when I say it would not be 'positively bad,' I mean that I should be going through the routine of my profession without either praise or blame of others attaching to me—if anything, rather the former under the dubious title of respectability, although, according to my own idea of a clergyman's duties, that very mediocrity, implying as it does carelessness, or rather evasion of responsibility, is most to be avoided in the exercise of them.

On the other hand, if I could seriously bend my mind to the requisite perseverance, how much more severe must be that discipline which fits me for the Church than what is needed at the Bar! All worldly ambition must be cast aside, for the character of Church preferment in these days is such as to keep it almost entirely closed to the sincere parish priest. All the excitement of rivalry and passion must be withdrawn, for we must become truly Christian before we can explain to others and ourselves practise the doctrines of Christ. In short, it is not only the intellect which is concerned in this profession, but the heart also must be brought in obedience to right principles, and all the feelings of the individual regulated according to the duties of his ministry. How difficult a task this is I am daily made more sensible by the exertion which is necessary to combat even the weakest inclination, and I am therefore unwilling to enter upon duties in which the failing to attain this state is most dangerous to myself, and must prove a bad influence over the minds of others—those others being committed to my charge for example and instruction.

At the law, on the other hand, I feel an immediate necessity of application from the very nature of pursuit. If I make any advance in it, to become idle and careless is impossible without losing the ground which I have gained, which past success renders galling, and which ambition will not for a moment admit.

If again I fail, the consequences fall only on myself, and to myself alone am I responsible for the abandoning of my own interests.

J. R. H.[5]

Towards the close of the summer of that year, 1831, there were circumstances which tended to draw him more in the direction of religious thought. An old nurse of his, named Beatrice Anderson (affectionately called by the family 'Teaty,' and so named in the letter just given), was slowly dying of some painful disorder at Luffness. This nurse was such a person as it is not uncommon to find among the humbler classes of Scotland—of antique loyalty and fidelity, of strong good sense and deep religious feeling. She was, of course, Presbyterian, and used to tell her nursling that she thought the association of his ancestor with the Scottish Reformer John Knox was the great crown of his house. James once remarked to his sister, that it was a crown he would gladly drop. Teaty had presented him with a Bible, costly and splendid considering the means of the donor, and witnessing to her love for him, which was indeed nobly requited. Whilst staying at Luffness for weeks alone to read in the long vacation of 1831, he constantly watched in her sick room, rendering her all the kind offices a son could have fulfilled for a mother; and reporting day by day, to his mother or sister, how the sufferer was going on. This personal and long-continued care and comforting of the sick is an unusual thing in young men, even under strong

[5] Some idea of a letter which he sent to his mother instead of the above, may be gathered from one addressed by him to his father on August 28, 1834, and given in Chapter IV.

religious influences; and in Mr. Hope's case, a brilliant Oxford undergrad of nineteen as he was, it certainly proved that his was no common mind and heart. As a special exercise of charity it is the first example we have had to remark, but by no means an isolated one with him: and actions like these explain much in his career. We shall see further on that he looked back to this occasion as having given him an opportunity of deep reflection on the importance of religion.

That the mental conflict I have described was, notwithstanding, still going on, is proved by the following passage of a letter of Mr. Leader's to Mr. Hope, dated August 1, 1831:—

I am grieved to see by your letter that change can bring no change to you, and that you are making up your mind to a state (for the present at least) of lethargy and apathy. I trust and hope though, that I have mistaken the drift of your words, and that the fact is not what I imagine. I rejoice, on the other hand, to hear that you are drinking deep of the fountains of divine philosophy. May your potations, pottle-deep, not make your head turn round; and remember to be 'not so devote to Aristotle's checks as Ovid be an outcast quite abjured'—the meaning of all which is, that I am sorry that you seem to be out of spirits, and glad that you are satisfied with yourself as to your reading.

Again, on September 5 (recognising, however, some more encouraging symptoms) the same correspondent writes:—

I am rejoicing by sympathy with you, that you are released from the old man of the seas, your companion, who has been sitting like an incubus upon your thoughts, and strangling your conversation in your throat.

In a letter of Mr. Hope's to his sister, November 27,

the dispirited tone reappears: 'Everything,' he says, 'grinds on here much as usual. However different the grist may be when put in, a few turns of the wheel makes it all of the same leaven.' Less than two months later (January 20, 1832) Mr. Leader writes to him:—

> As to your letter . . . you talk of yourself as if you hardly knew what to do with the said self; but trust me, and do not think that I have lost my head (as I sometimes imagine myself); the time is fast approaching when the man with the head to plan and the heart to execute will make his way in the world, in whatever career he may have started. So do not trouble yourself about what line of life you shall take, but walk on, prepared for all events, and to act a part in any scene.

Mental struggles such as these could not be favourable to that academical ambition to which Mr. Hope's associations on entering Oxford would naturally have pointed. The memoranda, indeed, which we described in a former page, are quite sufficient to show that he had pursued the routine followed by those who aimed at the coveted blue ribbon of Oxford student life—a First Class *in literis humanioribus*; which honour, or its full equivalent, had been already achieved by each of his two brothers. The eldest, John T. Hope, took a Classical First in 1826 (he had also gained the Newdigate prize, by a poem 'On the Arch of Titus,' in 1824); and the next brother, George W. Hope, obtained a Second Class in Classics and a First in Mathematics in 1827. There is no doubt James Hope's abilities would have given him every prospect of equal distinction in the Schools. His health, however, which appears to have been indifferent during the most important portion of his time as an undergraduate, had been much against

him; and he was led, on other grounds also, to decide against the attempt. 'Is it worth the candle?' he asked. The result of reading for a class would either be success or failure; and the former, after all, would only imply an honour which is shared by A. or B., individuals, perhaps, of very moderate calibre. Such, in substance, was the reply he made to his friend Mr. Rogers (now Lord Blachford), when urged by him to read for a First Class. Lord Blachford remarks: 'He was not insensible to the pleasure of acknowledged eminence, still less to the far higher pleasure of accomplishing important objects; but he cared little for ordinary distinction, had no pleasure in victory as such, and, I think, was a little too much disinclined to run the risk of failure. . . . So, I do not think that within my knowledge of him he ever showed any turn for games, in which, of course, the alternative of success or failure is the great point of interest.' (Letter to Mr. Edward S. Hope, July 2, 1873.) Perhaps, indeed, Mr. Hope's argument, though it showed a characteristic shrewdness, disguised from himself a degree of indolence which the self-forgetting toils and the rewards of his later life would have hardly led us to expect in him. However that may be, on June 5, 1832, he wrote to his father as follows:—

J. R. Hope to General the Hon. Sir Alex. Hope.

My friends have, in various tones and with various sincerity, assured me that they think me wrong in giving up the Schools. Some have gone so far as to say that I am at present sufficiently prepared. But I have heard nothing to shake the resolution I have come to, that unless I can—and I am confident I

cannot—compass reading enough to make me feel a right to what I aim at, the game is not worth playing. A chance class, dependent upon a particular turn of the examination, might have been tried for Merton, but I think you will agree with me, that if it be sought for distinction it must be sought fairly and honourably.

There was, of course, some disappointment in the family at this turn of affairs, but his brother, Mr. G. W. Hope, on whose advice he much relied, was satisfied that the decision was for the best; and, as it turned out, his prospects cannot be said to have been traceably affected by it one way or other. Soon after this conclusion was arrived at, he set out (June 13, 1832[6]) for a tour on the Continent with his friend John Temple Leader, with whom he associated a good deal, and, as we have seen, frequently corresponded about this period. It could scarcely have been a really congenial intimacy. Mr. Leader's political doctrines, a strange phenomenon in Oxford of that day, were, it is well known, avowedly radical, and his religious views were of the vaguest kind. Such alliances are, however, often struck up in English college life, which throws together into daily companionship men who are in reality wide as the poles asunder, and who of necessity see less and less of each other as their characters begin to take permanent shape and their self-consciousness to become matured. One or other will awake, and find that a fascination has for ever departed from his vision, and that never again can his friend seem in his eyes what imagination had once pictured him.

[6] The date in Mr. Hope's diary is '*May* 13,' but I have satisfied myself, after a careful examination, that this must be a clerical error for June.

As to the tour, it is perhaps no improbable conjecture that Mr. Leader's object in persuading Mr. Hope to join him in it may have been to get his friend out of that disposition to gloom and melancholy which he had evidently noticed in him for some time with considerable anxiety. He certainly looked on Mr. Hope with no common regard. In one of his letters to him (March 19, 1833) he remarks that he was 'the only man he ever cared for.'

There exists a short diary of this tour, kept by Mr. Hope, showing a mind as yet quite unformed; and, in places, even that levity by which such a mind endeavours to hide from itself its own want of grasp and intellectual elasticity, having indeed the desire of improvement, but looking for it rather in the acquisition of facts than in the harder process of the elaboration of thought. The journal contains observations on picture-galleries and other matters of interest to travellers at Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, &c. The writer is unfavourably impressed by the Belgians, as uniting 'the heaviness of the Dutch and the vanity of the French;' and of their revolution he says, 'they can't tell how it began, much less how it will end; some say the priests caused it all; others the Dutch monopoly of places; others a little of both;' but, considering the augmentation of the army, interruption of manufactures and commerce, foreigners in many of the higher posts, hotels empty, promenades bare, he concludes that, 'certes, they had better have sat still.' During the tour, Mr. Hope had paid some attention to the earlier history of Belgium. The MS. volume containing this diary includes an outline of the old

political divisions of that country, and quaint historical notes on the chief towns, extracted from Peter Heylyn's 'Cosmography.' Always remembering the keynote of his future life, I remark that Mr. Hope quotes on Winocksberg, that it is 'so called from a goodly abbey built upon a hill in honour of St. Winock, an Englishman of holy life;' and, on the other hand, that Cassandt (near Scluse) is 'famous for the birth of George Cassander, a moderate and learned papist.' Yet the expression of those deeper feelings which had certainly by this time begun to stir within him, is curiously, perhaps intentionally, absent, and even Cologne cathedral fails to elicit from him any expressions other than might be expected from an ordinary traveller of education.

At Aix-la-Chapelle, J. R. H. records that he 'began to speak German,' and adds, 'it came natural, i.e. pronunciation, not words.' To his sister, he writes: 'I feel my [German] revive hourly. I speak it with much more confidence than I can French.' The island of Nonnenwerth (where the old convent had been turned into a hostelry) pleased him; his remark on it is, 'The house and ground all capability.' It appears the island at the time was being offered for sale by lottery. Mr. Leader 'had a hankering to buy it. Encouraged him to my utmost. Think he couldn't do better. Such a place as I would make of it! But then the *geldt!* that plaguy go-between. Why do they call it the "circulating medium," if it never comes round to one half of the world, myself among the rest?' On Sunday (June 30), the two friends dined at a musical club, called the 'Bonn

Liedertafel.' 'Natives to the amount of one hundred and sixty, chiefly students, professors and their families. Glees between each course; besides the minstrelsy, toasts—the quaintest, "In whosesoever bosom lives the love of what is good, what is true, and what is beautiful, *Der mag hoch leben.*" Everybody felt the compliment as their own, and therefore everybody applauded.'

After a few days' sojourn at Bonn, the travellers passed through the Nassau country to Frankfort, and thence by the usual route to Dresden, where they remained some time. Here they found Count Thun, to whom Mr. Hope had been furnished with an introduction by his brother, John T. Hope, and this led to a visit to Tetschen, the seat of that nobleman in Bohemia, some particulars of which, in a letter of Mr. Hope's to his sister, are of interest.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to his Sister, Miss Hope [afterwards Lady Henry Kerr].

Dresden: August 10, 1832.

Dear Louisa,—You must excuse my not having answered your letter sooner, as I have been on an expedition into Bohemia, which has lasted, rain and sunshine, nearly a week. You may remember that I brought a letter from John to Comte Thun; and I believe I told you in my last that he was in Dresden with his family on account of the illness of one of his daughters. This state of things did not please us at all, as our design was quite as much upon Tetschen as upon its owner; but the kindness of the whole family soon enabled us to make arrangements for a visit to the château. This we accomplished in company with the three sons and a friend of theirs, being in all six as noisy, hungry rascals as ever were let loose on a country house. The situation, &c., of Tetschen, John has probably told you about, or if he has not I shall be better able

to explain it by some views I have of it, on my return. But what John did not see, and we did, was a deer hunt on a grand scale, in the course of which I, your humble servant, had the honour of being accounted the slayer of a red deer, of whose death I believe myself, in conscience, to have been purely innocent. We were out two days—the first without any sport, the second crowned with the above-mentioned deericide. But then the hunting equipage! Imagine twenty smart gentlemen, with swords by their sides and rifles over their shoulders, backed by about as many peasants who were performing a feudal duty in beating the bushes. The woods are all divided into different ranges, or 'walks,' as they are called in old English. The German name is 'revier.' On each of these there are a certain number of foresters, with a senior först, and, accordingly, as we proceeded, each took the command in turn upon his own *revier*. Over the whole there was a *Herr-ober-först*, who was exceedingly dignified and very ornamental, but of little use, except inasmuch as he lent me a gun, which I have since purchased of him. In returning from Tetschen, we came through the Saxon Switzerland; and I renewed my acquaintance with the Kuhstall and Winterberg, &c., much to my satisfaction. Memory is certainly one of the strangest ingredients of our compound—at least of mine. Here it forgets a mountain, and there it remembers a stone. I may travel a road all day with every association that names and dates can afford, and yet depend upon a signpost or milestone for everything beyond the faintest recollection. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

JAMES R. HOPE.

This letter is rather tantalizing, so far as it omits any description either of Schlosz-Tetschen or of its inmates in particular. A full and very interesting account of a visit to the same place, only four years later, may be found in the 'Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor' (vol. i. p. 504), from which it appears that

the castle, situated on a bold rock above the Elbe, with a corresponding still bolder rock on the other side, is an enormous mass of building of the most imposing style, constructed at various dates from the year 1000 down to 1706. Under the shelter of the castle is a prosperous town, with cotton manufactories and potteries. The title of its lord (one of the most illustrious in the Bohemian *noblesse*) was the Count von Thun-Hohenstein. The Countess was of the Brühl family, descended from the great minister of that name. To proceed, however, with our main subject: the portion of Mr. Hope's letter which has been omitted is taken up with slight notices of the society, German and English, in which he mingled at Dresden. Thuns, Lopes, Lützgerodes, Löwensteins are mentioned among the former; and among the latter, Oxford contemporaries chiefly, Mr. F. Calvert, Lord Kerry, Mr. Philip Dundas. The acquaintance Mr. Hope had formed with the Thun family developed into a very intimate and long-continued friendship. The excellent Countess regarded him with the affection of a mother. Her three sons, Counts Francis, Frederick, and Leo Thun,[7] all kept up a corre-

[7] Count Frederick Thun afterwards filled various great offices. He was Governor of Verona, and Austrian Ambassador at Berlin and St. Petersburg until 1864. He died at Tetschen on Sunday, September 25, 1881. Count Leo Thun (born 1811) very early distinguished himself by his interest in social questions, and published a work on Prison Discipline, the title of which is, *Die Nothwendigkeit der Moral-Reform der Gefängnisse*, Prag, 1836. Other works of his are: *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand der böhmischen Literatur*, Prag, 1842, and *Die Stellung der Slowaken in Ungarn*, Ibid. 1843. He was Minister of Public Instruction to the Austrian Government, 1849–60; concluded the Concordat with Rome in 1855, and was leader of the national feudal party in Bohemia. For some further particulars about him see a letter of Mr. Hope's, quoted in Chapter XX.

spondence with him. Of the three, his especially cherished friend was Count Frederick. His correspondence with Count Leo was quite of the old-fashioned type, judging from the German letters, which are voluminous and bearing much upon religious questions. The exalted position in the Austrian Government to which Count Leo Thun afterwards attained gives to his friendship with Mr. Hope something of the interest which attaches to that of about the same period with Mr. Gladstone. Indeed many years after the time we are now engaged with, Mr. Hope himself expresses the same thought in a letter to Mr. Gladstone, dated 'Abbotsford, Sept. 6, 1851,' in which he says :—

> We have had a comfortable visit from Count Thun, with his daughter and cousin. The Minister of Public Instruction at Vienna is the Count's youngest son—a man I have often thought like you in many of his ways. The whole family have for some twenty years been my dear friends.

The summer vacation of 1832 drawing to a close, the travellers were preparing to proceed from Dresden to Vienna, when Mr. Hope was recalled home by the approaching marriage of his sister, Louisa Dorothea, to Lord Henry Kerr (then Rector of Dittisham in Devonshire), which took place at Luffness, on Sept. 12, 1832. The tour, pleasant as much of it had evidently been, seems on the whole to have dissatisfied Mr. Hope; for he closes his diary with the following words: 'Next time I go abroad, I hope it will be to better purpose.'

To this period, when light was scarcely beginning to break upon the dark clouds which had so long oppressed him, may possibly be referred the following

significant verses, in Mr. Hope's handwriting, and with erasures by him, but without date. One can fancy them suggested by many a talk the two friends would be likely to hold in the course of their tour:—

LINES ON PHILOSOPHY.

Go then, Philosophy, with nice discourse,
Still, if thou mayest, the anguish of remorse,
[Let wordy skill supply the inborn sense,
And arm deceit with wit's omnipotence;
Teach thy sad startled victims to pursue
The well-trod path, and deem its limits true.]
Lead on thy victims, till the mazèd way
Perplex their feet, entangle and betray,
Till doubts unsolved in tumult round them throng,
And truth discordant break the syren song:
Then summon pride, thy guardian—him of yore,
Whom to the earth rebellious angels bore,
That man, thus falsely gifted, might array
His darkling light against the spring of day,
And giddy grown with self, presume to call,
Like them, His power untrue—like them for ever fall.
What though thy cold and heartless voice decry
The longing wish for immortality—
All hearts, all forms beneath created day,
Each in his untaught language doth it say:
The lowly plant, spring-born beneath our tread,
The distant star, by night returning fed—
The sea with ever-changing tides, proclaim
Death may not seal this mute material frame.
Are *we*, then, less than Earth, which but supplies
With menial hand our coarse necessities?
Less than the flower which lives to feed *our* sight;
Less than the stars, *our* ministers of light.
Or do the waves, which beat for us alone,
Claim that which man, their lord, may never call his own?
Oh! human wisdom—swift without advance—
How art thou shamed by human ignorance!
E'en those rude northern warriors hoped again
To cross the blade, the mantling cup to drain.

> And though with gross and earthly visions fraught
> 'Mid sensual passion strove the imprisoned thought,
> Still 'twas the God of Nature that awoke
> Those half-taught hopes, and in that echo spoke.

As the plan of this memoir involves the preservation of any characteristic traits of home-life affecting its subject, I will not pass over a simple and touching recollection, communicated after Mr. Hope-Scott's death, by a lady nearly related to the family, who was present at his sister's wedding: 'I do recollect distinctly that September day in 1832, when the carriage drove off with you after the marriage. I rushed up to the room you had left, and was gazing in silence and tears at all your belongings that marked your past youth, when turning round at a step, your brother James was beside me. The same impulse had brought us both to your deserted room, and we felt and expressed to each other that the "sunbeam" of Luffness was gone, and that home life there could never be the same again to any of us.'[8]

Mr. Hope, returning to Oxford, went in for the Pass-examination, as he had made up his mind to do, and took his B.A. degree on Nov. 15, 1832, receiving, however, an honorary fourth class, *in literis humanioribus*. This was not a distinction regarded as of any importance at Oxford, being very commonly attained by candidates who, having 'read for honours,' chose in the end to attempt only the Pass. It happened, curiously enough when we recall his reasons for declining a competition for honours, that on that occasion no fewer than *ten* candidates were placed in the first class. The University wits gave them the rather malicious title of the *Decemvirs*.

[8] —— —— to Lady H. K., September 6, 1873.

CHAPTER III.

1833.

Mr. Hope Interested in Homœopathy—Competes for the Ellerton—Canvass for Merton—Elected to a Fellowship at Merton College—Correspondence on the Subject with Sir A. Hope—Letters of Lords Sidmouth, Elgin, and Dalhousie, and Dr. Gillies.

WE find Mr. Hope still at Oxford in the spring-term of the following year, 1833, no doubt in order to his candidature for a fellowship in Merton College, which is alluded to in a letter to his father, quoted some pages back. About this period, it may be inferred, from more than one passage in the correspondence before me, that he continued to lead a rather retired and lonely life. As to reading, he seems to have paid a good deal of attention to metaphysical studies, a line which his conversation in after years would never have led one to suppose he had followed; but it was quite in keeping with his character to avoid entering on topics which lay out of the range of general interest. He also at this time zealously took up the cause of homœopathy, on which I believe he even delivered some lectures, and visited the hospital at Oxford with the view of promoting it. He had also proposed translating a German pamphlet by Bruno, which was an introduction to Hahnemann's 'Organon,' but was advised against it by the late Dr. F. J. Quin, a physician of that school, with whom this common subject of interest had led Mr. Hope

to correspond. Dr. Quin was a person well known in London society of that day, and until lately, who wrote a memoir of Count D'Orsay. I have seen a letter of his to Mr. Hope, advising him as to the best way of delivering public addresses, and winning the attention of an audience on disputed points like homœopathy. He recommended, as a good rhetorical artifice, the stating, with some breadth and show of concession, the apparent objections to one's own view, and then meeting them, a hint which may not have been without influence on Mr. Hope's style of pleading, for he often made use of that device. Homœopathy, however, was a 'craze' (if I may be allowed the expression), which did not last very long with Mr. Hope; and it only needed to be noticed as a proof that his mind was in that struggling, formative stage which has been otherwise apparent; and that accordingly he sought scope for his energies in anything that presented itself as a means for ameliorating the condition of others.

About the same period, he competed for the Ellerton Theological Prize. The thesis proposed was: 'The analogy of God's dealings with men would not lead us to expect a perpetual succession of miraculous powers in the Church.' Among his papers is found an essay on this subject, not indeed in his handwriting; from a note of his on the flyleaf we learn that '*S. Denison wrote it out, and hard work it was*,' but it may, I think, be safely assumed to be the composition of Mr. Hope. Its chief biographical interest consists in the absence of any particular anticipation of the views which, a few years later, seemed to be welcomed as so native to his mind.

It appears to have been a rapid production; towards the conclusion, the writer remarks that he had examined the analogies of the question, 'hastily, I fear, but not without endeavouring at truth.' On the whole, the essay may be described as the work of a young but thoughtful mind, applying the principles of Butler in support of a foregone conclusion. I say 'foregone,' because the writer declares, with an almost amusing simplicity, that 'all candid inquirers have decided that the history of the last 1,400 years yields no traces of well-substantiated miracles.' It is unnecessary to enter into a detailed analysis of this little treatise, but a notice of its principal line of argument may fall within our object. The essayist contends that miracles were rare in the patriarchal times, and though frequent in the commencement of the Mosaic dispensation, yet only lasting till that dispensation was firmly established; and he draws a parallel to this in the cessation, taken for granted in the sentence quoted above, of miraculous interposition in the Christian dispensation subsequent to its temporal settlement in the age of Constantine. He argues that the body of evidence in all later times has been of the same kind, viz. that of records, and what may be termed circumstantial; and, even for the illiterate (with some infusion of the principle of authority in their case), nothing but an extension of the evidence which their own experience could supply; and to appreciate which every Christian community is bound to give its meanest members an adequate education. He very consistently makes a certain amount of civilisation a preliminary condition for the conversion of idolaters,

maintaining that it was necessary, from the first and now, that the nations to be converted should not be altogether barbarous. 'Miracles,' he says, 'might force a creed on them even in their rudest state, but it would become alloyed and lost in the practices of an older superstition, unless the way were prepared by *some* knowledge at least of the arts of life.' The concluding page of the essay shows a decided misgiving as to the principle which the writer had been using in order to draw an inference so foreign to the yet unmastered tendencies of his mind.

> Analogy is a weapon of defence rather than of attack, a breastplate and not a sword. We may, therefore, rebut boldly with it, and deny assertions of the necessity of miraculous interference; but we must be careful how we assert in turn. This were to mistake the proof of the improbability against the recurrence of miracles for an evidence that they will not recur. And if, in the observation of natural phenomena, the analogies deduced have been continually overturned by some further development of a law as yet imperfectly understood, how shall we escape, not error only, but sinful presumption in hastily defining the secret ways of God?

This essay did not win the prize. A very different competition was now impending, in the election of Merton College, where a 'close' Fellowship was to be awarded, to which Mr. Hope was eligible in consequence of his birth in Buckinghamshire. The first to hear of this chance was his mother, who, a considerable time before, in November 1830, had admonished him to be on the outlook. Like many similar appointments at Oxford in those days, success in this turned much more upon interest than on academical distinctions. It is not

to be supposed that the latter were quite overlooked by those who had to make the selection: on the contrary, every member of the society would wish his college to look well in the eyes of the university; but then they never professed to make this the only, or even the principal, consideration, where the question was, to choose a man whom they were daily to meet, and who would be the joint possessor with them both of property and patronage of no unimportant kind. This feeling influenced almost every college in Oxford at that time. The monastic character of the place, though destined very soon to have a short but energetic revival in spirit, so far as a party could effect this, had in fact long since disappeared, and the pursuit of intellectual culture for its own sake, which seems now to predominate there, had not yet supplanted it. The colleges had become societies, first and principally of *gentlemen*, the majority of whom were clergymen; many, elegant scholars; a few, lawyers who occasionally resided; but to be a gentleman, by birth or at any rate by manners, was what the Oxford colleges were unwilling to lose sight of, in assigning these great rewards. The present generation will hardly believe that at the time to which I now refer one of the Fellows of Merton College was a general officer in the army; and I have heard also of another instance of the same anomaly. This may appear, and no doubt was, a gross departure from the spirit as well as the letter of the constitutions handed down to these ancient societies from the Ages of Faith; and yet it may be questioned whether it was a greater departure from

either than the principle that would sever, in educational foundations, the union of learning and religion. The Fellows of a college like Merton, or, to take even a stronger case in illustration, a college like All Souls, were the historical descendants of those mediæval times, without any acknowledged break, vast and immeasurable as the break really was; and being such, it was possible for a Catholic revival to arise among them, which is not likely to be renewed under the altered conditions we now behold. However that may be, a vacant Fellowship at Merton in 1833 was the subject of an eager and thoroughly business-like canvass, avowed and admitted on all sides. A list of the Fellows, with their family connections and friends, was carefully made out, and votes were solicited by whatever influential persons the candidate could bring to his aid. The electors respond in the same purely electioneering spirit: this elector, 'consistently with other promises;' that, 'subject to the merits of the respective candidates,' but 'interested in his success;' a third 'will not vote *against*, but will do all he can *for*;' a fourth 'wishes he had known sooner, but will write to a certain Mr. ——, who, by his account, is a powerful man at Merton,' and so forth. I shall give one letter, partly because it will serve to illustrate what has been said, partly because of the importance of the writer, the aged ex-Premier, Lord Sidmouth.

Vicount Sidmouth to Gen. the Hon. Sir Alex. Hope.

Richmond Park: Febʳ· yᵉ 21ˢᵗ, 1833.

My dear Sir,—It would be most gratifying to me to assist in accomplishing your Wishes respecting Merton; as, I am

sure, it would be to the Son of one old Friend of yours and the Nephew of another.—But He is overloaded for the next Election. In Addition to Applications from other Quarters, He has two from me, at the earnest Request of Relatives, who, like yourself, are old and highly valued Friends, and I must not endanger, or incur the Risque of weakening the Effect of those Applications by any Thing I might say, or do, in Behalf even of your Son. I will immediately write to my Nephew, stating, however, the Reservations I have mention'd.

Most earnestly do I wish, on all Accounts, that you may be confirm'd in your Seat, without the Trouble and Expence of a Petition.—Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

Sincerely y^rs^,
SIDMOUTH.

Mr. Hope's candidature proved successful, and on April 13, 1833, at the age of only twenty years and a half, he was elected Fellow of Merton College. I need not ask any excuse from readers who know the intense pleasure such early success, and still more the promise with which it always seems laden, afford to the hearts at home which have been beating with incessant sympathy as the anxious struggle goes on, if I transcribe the happy little note in which J. R. H. communicated the good news to his sister.

James R. Hope to his Sister, Lady Henry Kerr.

Dear Puss,—They have been so foolish as to make me, James Robert Hope, a Fellow of Merton. Was für Unsinn!

April 13.

When we consider the dignity and consequence which attends a Fellowship in the little world of the university, its attainment by a very youthful candidate may well be regarded as a touchstone in the years

which follow, of good sense and sobriety of mind. Many a young man of twenty has been ruined for life or deteriorated for years by too brilliant success at his outset. The following letter, addressed on the same occasion by Mr. Hope to his father, will show that this fatal result was not to be feared for him, although he received his good fortune with a great deal of natural and good-humoured content.

James R. Hope to Gen. the Hon. Sir Alex. Hope.

Dear Papa,—If John and George got nothing from Oxford but a good name, it must be remembered that they neither of them—the former from his situation, and the latter from his mettle—stood in need of much more. I think, therefore, that fortune has been very judicious in choosing to assist that one of our family who is least able to assist himself. As for her mode of doing it, that, too, it must be confessed, shows great judgment. For had she been so foolish as only to give me an opportunity of profiting, instead of a positive profit, it is ten to one that I should have been blockhead enough to miss it. As it is, I cannot help myself, and am beyond the reach of my own mistakes. You will be sure to return my best thanks to all those who have promoted my success. As for George, he is a man of deeds and not of words, and I shall, therefore, although he most deserves them, send him no thanks at all. If I can ever do the same for him (which I am afraid he is too well aided by himself ever to make probable), I will return his exertions in kind.

There is one person—Mr. Addington—who grounded the support which he gave me entirely on the respect which he and all his family have for yourself; it might, therefore, be well that you should acknowledge so solid a kindness by a letter either to him or to Lord Sidmouth. Mr. Tyndal Bruce, too, I have forborne writing to myself, because I believe, from many circumstances, that he will value your thanks much more highly than mine. Lady Clarendon, too, must not be forgot.

Mr. Mills has done a great deal for me, and so has Fred Calvert. My own friends have been throughout most kind.

As for the 'whereabouts' of the Fellowship itself, they are excessively agreeable. The income averages 200*l*. The society is the best in Oxford (so is the cook), the college is one of the prettiest, and its gardens have a terrace which for meditation or smoking a cigar beats any I ever saw. When will you come and take a turn on it? The only 'per contra' is, that the incoming does not begin till next year, while the outgoings for fees, &c., commence immediately; and that I must be content to knock about in other people's rooms for a long time before I can expect any of my own.

As I am obliged to reside for six months of the next year, I propose fixing my staff here for the present—at least, with the exception of a trip into Warwickshire, on which I go to-morrow with Hamilton, and a visit to town when Puss comes up. George will probably write to me touching my legal studies.

I have written to all my friends in Scotland, beginning with Hopetoun and going downwards.

And now, my dear Papa, accept for yourself and my Mother an expression of the sincerest and most reverential affection from a son who has often plagued you by his indolence, his folly, and his obstinacy, but who has never, even when he has been most wrong, been ungrateful to you for endeavouring to lead him right; or wholly forgetful of the exertions and sacrifices you have made for him.

JAMES R. HOPE.

April 13 [1833].
General
The Hon^ble^ Sir Alex. Hope, M.P.,
Quartermaster-General's Office,
Horse Guards.

Sir Alexander Hope's letters on this fortunate event show the good sense of a man of the world and the tenderness of a kind father. His view of the Fellowship was that his son was now sheltered from the storms of life, and secured in a comfortable home into

which to retire on the pressure of any difficulty, whether it should arise from a public or a private cause, available for pleasure in health, or ease and comfort in sickness. The literary reader will remember what Dr. Johnson tells of Prior and his Fellowship at St. John's, which he was censured for retaining after he had been ambassador; but said 'he could live on it at last,' and, as it turned out, had reason to congratulate himself on having such a resource. Sir Alexander promises his son, considering the fluctuations of college revenues, that his income should not fall below 300*l.* per annum. Yet reminds him that, after all, this seeming sufficiency was 'but poor bread,' besides that it obliged him to celibacy, and he exhorted him to provide for advancing years by present exertion upon two motives—principle and prudence, adding: 'Of these, Principle is the highest, for you remember, "to whom much is given, from him much will be required."'

In replying to this letter, Mr. Hope thanks his father for 'the very liberal proposal' it contained, which he says was more than he had any right to expect, observing, however, 'I agree with you that such an income is in every point of view insufficient to sit down with for life, and I must accordingly adopt some honest means of increasing it.' He goes on to say that as he has chosen the law, he wishes his brother George to communicate with him as soon as possible, touching his apprenticeship to a special pleader, and proposed either to go up to London before the following Easter, or else to follow any course of reading at Oxford he might recommend, at the rate of four hours

a day. 'At all events I will, in the mean time, attack Blackstone, and make what I can of it.'

A large packet of letters of congratulation has been preserved: the tone of cordial pleasure prevailing through them all shows the warmth of affection with which Mr. Hope was regarded by a numerous circle of friends. It is so unusual a circumstance for a young man to have been able to reckon among his early associates *two* future Viceroys of India, and associates so intimate as that the trio were talked of, by their older friends, as 'the three Jems,' for whom great careers were expected, that I am tempted to give the letters of the Hon. James Bruce and of Lord Ramsay (afterwards Lords Elgin and Dalhousie) nearly in full. The former was, a little later than the time of the present chapter, a brother-Fellow of Mr. Hope's at Merton.

The Hon. James Bruce to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Saturday [April 13, 1833].

My dear Hope,—I have just heard the good news, and I hasten to congratulate you. Fate interposed to prevent me from feeling towards you the feelings of a rival, and I must now look to you under another character, and beg you to remember the mutual obligation under which we placed ourselves in our earlier days. Gladstone adds his congratulations, and a frank to convey them. . . .

Yours most truly,

JAMES BRUCE.

Leamington.

Lord Ramsay to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Dalhousie Castle: April 17, 1833.

My dear Jem,—After hunting every newspaper for your name every day for the last fortnight, and grumbling like old Menzie at the Club, 'I've read twa mornin's and three evnin's

and nae news yet,' I have at last seen you gazetted to Merton this morning. La illaha, il allah! Heaven is good, and so are the electing Fellows. May your face be whitened and your shadow never be less! Seriously, nothing has given me greater pleasure for many a long day than to hear from yourself this morning of your success. Long may you enjoy it, and when you do tire of the Common Room, and are looking about you for a change, and if the Radicals will only leave Charlie to 'sit in Charlie's chair,' you know one place, at least, where you will meet with old friends and the very heartiest of welcomes, and will remove yourself straightway to Dalhousie.

The Peer begs me to compose a congratulation for him—I cannot make a truer or a heartier one than my own, and so it must stand for both.

. . . . . .

Ever yours very faithfully,

RAMSAY.[1]

The following letter may be added as of some interest in itself, and also because written by Dr. Gillies, an author, who (with Mitford) may be said to have laid the foundation of the British school of Greek historians, though his fame has been eclipsed by his successors. Dr. Gillies was Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland, to which office he had been appointed on the death of Dr. Robertson, the historian. He died at Clapham, February 15, 1836, in the ninetieth year of his age.

[1] This friendship was one of an enduring and very confidential character begun in early boyhood, Lord Dalhousie's mother being a connection and friend of Lady Hope's. On going out as Governor-General of India, he left Mr. Hope as one of three commissioners to represent him in his absence in the management of his estates, signing himself in the letter in which he requested him so to act as 'Your old and affectionate friend, DALHOUSIE' (October 9, 1847). This commission lasted till the Viceroy's return in 1851.

John Gillies, LL.D., to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear James R. Hope!—You will better imagine than I can express to you the delight which I received from your appointment to a Fellowship of Merton College, and your affectionate letter informing me of that honour. You will believe me when you reflect that it is most natural to delight in the success of those whom we love, or have loved from their infancy. I beg, therefore, to be duly thankfull for the goodness of Providence in directing you to that line of life which, in my experience of Eighty-six years in the world, appears to me the most likely to produce contentment and all other ingredients of happiness. That the good effects of your choice of a literary life may be amply Justified by your own experience is the sincerest prayer of your very old and most affectionate friend,

JOHN GILLIES.

I say nothing more at present, as I am now labouring for eight days, and confined to my Room with the Complaint called the Influenza.—JOHN GILLIES.

Clayweam, the 19th April, 1833.

The correspondence of the autumn of this year (1833) affords a letter, not indeed bearing on the subject of this biography, but so interesting from its associations that I am unwilling to withhold it.

F. H. Doyle, Esq. [*now Sir Francis H. Doyle, Bart.*], *to J. R. Hope, Esq.*

Friday m^e^. [Postmark, 'London, Oct. 4, 1833.']

My dear Hope,—I should like to get over to Chelsea tomorrow. If I receive no answer from you forbidding me altogether, or specifying a particular hour, I shall start from here [the Tower] about one, which will, I suppose, bring me to Chelsea between two and three. You will be shocked to hear that my poor friend Arthur Hallam died at Vienna on the 15th. Two days ago I called at Mr. Hallam's house to ask when Mr.

Arthur was expected to come home, and the answer I received was, 'Mr. Arthur, sir, will never come home any more—he died a fortnight ago.' He was a person for whom I entertained a sincere and affectionate regard, and the suddenness of the shock was so great that I thought I should have fallen to the ground. It has distressed me very much, as, from the manner in which his father and mother were wrapped up in him, I cannot help fancying their misery. Mr. Hallam was with him at the time (they were travelling together), but, as he died after an illness of a single day, he was of course unprepared for such a blow.

Believe me, dear Hope,
Ever yours faithfully,
F. H. DOYLE.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTERS I.–III.

An article entitled *James Hope-Scott* appears in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for March 1884, containing some very interesting reminiscences by Sir Francis H. Doyle, which I should have been glad to interweave in my text, did not typographical pressure make it inconvenient; but I may perhaps be allowed to throw them together in this place, presuming the kind permission both of the author and the publishers to make use of them.

Mr. Hope and Sir Francis H. Doyle at Eton.

My first acquaintance with Hope was in 1825, when he came to the house of Mrs. Holt, our dame. He was about two years younger than I was. I gave him my advice for what it was worth, about his verses, private business, and the like. He was wonderfully handsome and agreeable-looking, with

very charming manners. We associated with each other, however, mostly *in* the house, I naturally taking my exercise and amusements with boys nearer my own part of the school, who were friends already made. For some reason or other—perhaps from indolence . . . he was not particularly keen about school distinctions of any sort. But there was no apparent reason why he should not have figured conspicuously in the playing-fields, or rowed in the boats. But, to the best of my recollection, he didn't do any great things in that line; nor, on the other hand, did he show much zeal for Greek and Latin; nor again, what I always regretted, would he join the debating society either at Eton or Oxford. This explains why his acquaintance with Mr. Gladstone at that time was so comparatively slight. . . . I recollect the punning reason he gave for refusing to join our discussions at Oxford. He said the place was only fitted for '*des bêtes*;' however, as the first speech that he made was almost as great a success as Erskine's, practice beforehand would not probably have been of much use. Mr. Coleridge, his tutor, in a letter [given *ante*, pp. 13, 14], complains of his insufficient scholarship. If this is true he probably lost some at Eton, because, as he got a double remove into the fifth form shortly after he came there, Mr. Polehampton must have sent him up very well prepared. The fact is that, though Eton was a good school of its kind, it was not one of the orthodox kind—its merits, as I have said elsewhere, were quite different from those of Shrewsbury and Winchester. A boy who learnt quickly by heart, and acquired the power of putting the Virgil and Ovid which he had learnt by heart into tolerable verses, was not obliged to do anything else. This subjected us to great disadvantages at the university; we had no more chance against the Shrewsbury boys of winning the university scholarship than a half-trained horse has of carrying off the Derby; and it took us our whole three years to acquire a sufficiently accurate knowledge of Greek to go into the schools with any hope of success. This, perhaps, was one of the reasons why Hope would not attempt honours. . . . I am rather amused at one of the expressions [in a copy of Latin verses of his which were sent

up for good at Eton and quoted *ante*, p. 15], because it is borrowed from a line which I recollect showing him some fifty-seven years ago, and certainly have never thought of since. In an old Eton prize poem (there were no prize poems in our time, more's the pity) was to be found a very graceful passage about the Thames—

'Rodit arundineas facili sinuamine ripas,' &c.

Hope, in the verses cited, borrows the words *facili sinuamine*, making a very harmonious cadence; but I own to a doubt whether *sinuamen* belongs to the Augustan era, and to that we were as closely confined in general as a pet squirrel is to his cage. As, however, Keate and Coleridge passed it over fifty-seven years ago, this is not of much importance now.

Amusements and Studies at Oxford.

At Oxford our friendship was even closer than at Eton, as we lived together both indoors and out. Our principal relaxation was riding on Oxford hacks, whose absolute duty it was always to gallop, so that they had almost forgotten the arts of trotting and walking. We read a good deal together in our rooms, principally Plato, and used to discuss him afterwards according to our lights. This still interests me as connected with almost the last flashing up of our half-extinguished friendship. A poem of mine, 'The Vision of Er, the Pamphylian,' founded upon a legend in the Republic of Plato, was privately printed before I gave it to the world. I sent it to him—this was after his conversion—with a letter to this effect—

'My dear Hope,—Circumstances have caused us to drift asunder, but I do not see that there is anything in that to prevent me from forwarding to you these verses, in memory of the books we read and the thoughts we interchanged whilst friends at Christ Church.'

I received in return an affectionate reply, accompanied by an invitation to Abbotsford. This invitation I was unfortunately obliged to decline, so that I never saw him in his own

house after he became a Roman Catholic. Yet . . . I hope the old feelings still lived with him as with me. Indeed, I was assured as much as this by Manning (since Cardinal). [Sir Francis goes on to give some particulars of the conversation, and, towards the end of the article, remarks]: I was deeply gratified on receiving, through Cardinal Manning, an affectionate message from Hope, when he was on his deathbed.

Tenderness of Mr. Hope-Scott towards those in sorrow.

I can give an instance of how Hope-Scott's distinguishing characteristic—I mean his unquenchable, and, if I may say so without irreverence, his Christ-like beneficence [2]—was exercised on my own behalf, whilst he was yet a fellow of Merton. Of course as we were still intimate, though even then less closely united than we had been: it does not amount to much, still many a sincere friend might have done less, with perfect self-satisfaction on his part, and complete acquiescence on mine. My father, whose health had been long declining, was seized with fatal symptoms at the end of November 1839. Hope, who was warned of this at Merton, came over about nine o'clock to the common room at All Souls, where I then was [Sir Francis H. Doyle had been elected Fellow of All Souls in 1835], with a post-chaise he had already procured. He broke the sad news to me with the utmost tenderness; and then, during the inclement winter night that followed, insisted on accompanying me to town and soothing me, to the best of his power, during the dreary journey. On reading the book before me I feel now, even more than I did then, that this was a necessity of his nature, and that he would have done for other men under the same circumstances what he did for me, not so much from motives of friendship, as because the warmth of his benevolence always led him to give up his time, his sympathy, and his money, to anyone in distress.

[2] I here make a slight transposition of sentences in the page quoted. —R. O.

CHAPTER IV.

1833–1835.

Lines of the Future Traceable—Early Religious Influences—Oxford Influences—Religious Disturbance—Mr. Hope studies the Law with Mr. Hodgkin—Tour in Holland with Lady Davy—Dangerous Illness of Mr. John Hope—Choice of Profession Re-considered—Correspondence of Mr. Hope with his Father—Letter of Sir Francis Doyle—Correspondence with Mr. Hodgkin—The East Lothian Election—Death of Mr. Alexander Hope—Visit of Mr. Hope to the Vice-Regal Court—Death of Mr. John Hope—A Disappointment of Mr. Hope's—Its Effect on his Career.

THE ensuing three years of Mr. Hope's life, from his election at Merton down to April or May 1835, when he was verging towards the completion of his twenty-third year, form a period full of uncertainty and wavering as to his future career; anxiety as to his religious state, and deep suffering from the sickness or deaths of relatives whom he dearly cherished. It includes long lapses of time in which, from one cause or other, he seemed to be applying himself but little to the studies which are indispensable in laying the foundation of a great and manly life. And yet, throughout all this confusion, the lines can be faintly traced of those pursuits and aims which he was at last able to grasp and keep steadily before him to the end. I shall first notice the symptoms of his religious development. The basis of his education in this directon was Presbyterian, the Hopetoun family being earnest members of the Kirk; but his father, who went to sea as a boy, and afterwards

joined the army, had been naturally led to acquiesce in the English form of worship. Accordingly, later on, Sir Alexander seems to have come to the conclusion that the two churches differed only in externals, and that it was his duty, as a loyal soldier and servant of the State, to accept the *Established* Church in either country. He had, however, a great horror of Calvinist doctrine, much preferring the Book of Common Prayer to extempore devotions, and therefore no doubt the more readily, when in England, attended with his family the ministrations of the Anglican Church. His sympathies indeed went so far with it, that he had all his children baptised in the English communion, and taught its catechism. Nor must it be supposed that his habit of mind was one characterised by mere liberality of sentiment, or was at all deficient in depth of religious feeling. It was the General's daily habit to read the Bible with the best commentaries he could find; he was especially fond of the Psalms and of the New Testament, and often read passages from them to his children. If, out of the numerous shades of opinion then, as now, to be found in the Anglican Church, the so-called Evangelical was the one which chiefly fell across his path, it was one from which he entirely dissented; unconsciously to himself, Sir Alexander was catholic-minded, and is particularly remembered to have held Catholic charity in high admiration.

Mr. Hope, in his student-life at Oxford, would meet, so far as religion began practically to act upon him, with the dawn, the *crepusculum* of those ideas into the very thick of which he was soon to be carried, the

'Christian Year' having come out in 1827, and the 'Tracts of the Times' having commenced in 1833. I cannot say what immediate effect the latter publication may have had upon his views, but in the following year his mental anxieties assumed the character of religious troubles, as will be partially illustrated by letters of his own, and by other particulars I shall give by-and-by. It connected itself, as time went on, with the question of the forgiveness of post-baptismal sin. As is well known, this was a point upon which many minds in the University of Oxford and in the Anglican Church generally were then disturbed, in consequence of a celebrated treatise of Dr. Pusey's on 'Holy Baptism,' which was published in the 'Tracts of the Times' in 1835. Mr. Hope's state of anxiety became visible to his friends, and continued a considerable time. He confided it to a very dear friend of his family, the Rev. Dr. Barter, Warden of Winchester, who was regarded with great respect, and possessed great influence at the time. Dr. Barter appears to have soothed his young friend's troubles, and to have convinced him that the views he had taken up were exaggerated or misdirected. This restoration of Mr. Hope's peace of mind was, I believe, visible in a visit he paid to his relations, Lord and Lady Henry Kerr, at Dittisham in April 1836.

The summer and autumn of the year 1833, after his election at Merton, had been darkened by the very severe illness of his mother. Her sister, Lady Hampden, had died soon after Lady Henry Kerr's marriage, and her mind had become overstrained in consequence of this affliction, which was complicated by great religious

depression. Throughout all this time of trial, Mr. Hope devoted himself to his mother's comfort with the kindest assiduity, night and day. In the spring of the following year, 1834, when these griefs had abated, he joined his brother, Mr. G. W. Hope, in chambers at Lincoln's Inn, and recommenced his legal studies under Mr. Hodgkin, a celebrated conveyancer of that day. This gentleman, who was a member of the Society of Friends, showed, as we shall see, a very kindly sympathy with the religious aspirations of his interesting and promising pupil. Mr. Hope also studied in the chambers of Mr. Plunkett, of the Temple, another of whose pupils, I have heard, was the present Sir Stafford Northcote. In his private reading, Mr. Hope had commenced as early, if not earlier than this, to pay great attention to the subject of academical law and of college statutes. The fact of his being Fellow of Merton naturally directed his vigorous and inquiring mind into this line, and the results of his researches will abundantly appear as we proceed.

Perhaps no other man ever attained that eminence in the legal profession which was reached by Mr. Hope, after so many and such long interruptions in preparing for it. These interruptions were partly due to the offices of kindness and charity which he seems never to have thought of withholding; but some of them were such as could not have been safely indulged in, where there was less reason to confide in the power of application to redeem lost time. Such a blank interval in his legal education was caused, before half its first year was over, by a tour in Holland, in which he accompanied Lady Davy, whose name will be not unfamiliar

to the readers of the earlier volumes of Lockhart's 'Life of Scott,' as a friend and correspondent of Sir Walter's. Lady Davy, widow of Sir Humphry Davy, was then advanced in years. She was a 'Kerr cousin,' to use a Border phrase, and had been an early friend of Mr. Hope's mother, hence his acquaintance with her. She was also well known in London society, and more especially in literary circles, and her influence was no doubt of value to a youth of splendid promise like Mr. Hope, although his friends indulged themselves in a little innocent quizzing on this expedition.

Writing from materials which are too often deficient in colouring, I am glad to borrow, from an interesting work already quoted, a passage which gives us a lively idea of this lady, as she appeared about twenty years before the time now referred to:—

> As her husband had invited me to do, I called this morning on Lady Davy. I found her in her parlour, working on a dress, the contents of her basket strewed about the table, and looking more like home than anything since I left it. She is small, with black eyes and hair, a very pleasant face, an uncommonly sweet smile, and when she speaks, has much spirit and expression in her countenance. Her conversation is agreeable, particularly in the choice and variety of her phraseology, and has more the air of eloquence than I have ever before heard from a lady. But then it has something of the appearance of formality and display which injures conversation. Her manner is gracious and elegant, and, though I should not think of comparing her to Corinne [Madame de Staël had said that she had all Corinne's talents without her faults or extravagances], yet I think she has uncommon powers.[1]

From the memoirs of another contemporary (Mrs.

[1] *Life of George Ticknor*, under 'June 13, 1815,' vol. i. p. 57.

Somerville) it appears that Lady Davy was familiar with several modern languages, and it was her great pride to show that she could converse with each of her guests in his own language; yet, as is often the case, was not very accurate in this accomplishment, and anecdotes were in circulation, in society, of amusing mistakes she had made, particularly in Italian conversation, of which perhaps more than any other it is easy to get a smattering, but difficult to acquire the niceties. To proceed, however, with our subject:

There is extant a rather copious diary of this tour by Mr. Hope, beginning with the significant motto: *Tempora mutantur, et nos?* He goes on to describe the pleasant party with which he and Lady Davy left London on board the *Batavier* on Sunday, May 4, 1834, for Rotterdam. There was Baron Fagel, a Dutch general officer of distinction, with his nephew and newly-married niece, M. and Madame R. Boreel (the latter a New York lady, formerly Miss Langdon). Among the other passengers were the Hon. Sir Robert Gordon and M. Van der Hoop,[2] a celebrated millionaire, whose name is yet well known by a picture-gallery of great interest, bequeathed by him to the Royal Academy at Amsterdam. The itinerary of the tour included Brill, Rotterdam, Dort, Delft, the Hague, Scheveningen, Leyden, Catwijk, and Haarlem, of all which places the diary contains notices, interesting certainly to

[2] The Hon. Sir Robert Gordon, G.C.B., brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, a distinguished diplomatist, British Ambassador at Vienna, 1844, died 1847 (Burke's *Peerage*, under 'Earl of Aberdeen'). M. Van der Hoop was *not*, as stated by mistake in the first edition of these memoirs, a kinsman of Mr. Hope's, the resemblance of names being purely accidental.

those immediately connected with the writer, and showing an intelligent appreciation of art and of the other objects which a young traveller, wishing to improve himself, ought to study, but, on the whole, not of sufficient importance to justify their insertion in these pages. The diary breaks off on May 14, when the travellers were starting for Amsterdam, and it is scarcely necessary to attempt supplementing it from other sources. However, it appears that Mr. Hope went on as far as Groningen, and, returning thence, passed through Friesland, and across the Zuyder Zee, again to Amsterdam. Mr. Leader had previously proposed joining him there, but gave up this idea, chiefly because he had found out, as he thought, that the good folks of Chelsea 'wished him rather in the Red Sea than on his way to Holland,' for fear his friend 'might be tempted to forget the law and John Hodgkin and outstay his holiday.'[3] Mr. Hope, after waiting nearly a week at Amsterdam in consequence of this *mal entendu*, retraced his steps to Rotterdam, and embarked from thence for London, after having been absent altogether about six weeks.[4]

The autumn which followed was a time of much anxiety and unsettlement. In July or August his eldest brother, John Thomas, was attacked by brain fever, caused by *coup-de-soleil* during a tour in Norway, and this led to a train of consequences. Mr. Hope spent many months (till December of that year, 1834) in travelling with his brother, and nursing him during

[3] Letter of Mr. Leader to J. R. H., June 6, 1834.
[4] J. R. H. to Lady H. Kerr, June 28.

his convalescence, which, however, proved a treacherous one; and here we note another example of this special devotion to the care of the sick which is so frequently recurring a characteristic of a large part of Mr. Hope's life. The hours he spent in these charitable offices gave him again the opportunity of deep reflection on his own religious state and views in life; and once more led him to reconsider and to change his professional destination. The combinations, of which this was but a part, leading to this decision he has himself explained in a letter I shall now transcribe, addressed to his father. As far as one can make out, he accuses himself of having previously given way to a sort of moodiness, self-dependency, and indifference to the claims of others on his society and sympathies, which the sight of the suffering of those dear to him had broken down, forcing him to the conviction which a moving spirit of those times expressed in the lines:

> Heaven must be won, not dreamed: thy task is set.
> Peace was not made for earth, nor rest for thee.

However, the following is his own account of his position:—

James R. Hope, to Gen. the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope.

[Endorsed by Sir Alexander Hope: '*Confidential.*—Correspondence with my son James about himself. September 1834.']

My dear Father,—I mentioned to you the day before yesterday that I had a scheme in my head which I intended to consider during the leisure which John's illness has afforded me. I did not intend originally to consult you on it till my own mind should be more fully made up; but it has struck me that I cannot rightly come to a conclusion without your assistance, and that even if I could, it would be improper and undutiful

to engage myself too deeply in the contemplation of it without the assurance that it was with your consent. My scheme is to give up the Law and enter into the Church. The reasons which induce me to this I will briefly state, with the caution that they are not as yet completely digested in my own mind, and therefore subject to alteration on further inquiry.

You know that it was always my mother's wish that I should become a clergyman, and that when I was about to choose a profession, she wrote to me strongly on the subject; at the same time that she concurred with you in giving me, as you did to all your sons, the most perfect liberty in my choice. I was at Leamington when I made my decision, and I then wrote a letter which I never sent, and which I have still by me, giving my reasons against the Church [see *ante*, p. 31]. They were chiefly grounded upon the belief that the indolence and instability of my character would not admit of my engaging in a profession which is attended with great responsibility before God, while it is unaccompanied by any of those outward stimulants to exertion which abound in the law. I felt I might become a respectable minister according to the opinions of the world, but that there was great danger of my not becoming a zealous one according to the ideas which I have always entertained of that office. Besides this, I then felt (what had probably fully as much weight with me as the last reason) that I could with difficulty give up the hopes of distinction which my vanity suggested I might acquire at the bar—or rather in the House of Commons—for it is to success there that I have always considered success at the bar as subservient. It was, I believe, this feeling that dictated the answer which I eventually sent to my mother, and which you saw. Since that time, my mind has often changed, and there have been moments when the waywardness of my temper, joined with bodily illness, have made me wish to give up all pursuits and all professions, and to spend, or rather waste my life, as an unprofitable, and I now feel, an unhappy idler upon the earth. The pain which this gave you, and George's continual persuasions on the one hand, with improved health and better feelings on the other, finally

determined me to take steadily to the profession which I thought would best suit my talents and most gratify my ambition. I believe it was after my election to Merton that I wrote to you to that effect.

I must now go to that part of my history which has most to do with my present views. . . . The health from which, as you know, I suffered for several years, had the effect of making me peevish and unsocial, and I at last ended by living almost alone, and framing my thoughts and habits by the belief that I could do without friends, and make myself independent of the world. One good among many bad effects of this was, that I thought and read more than I had ever been accustomed to do, and from my intimacy with Mr. Mills, my favourite reading was on subjects connected with moral philosophy. From these I was naturally led to religion as a theory, and acquired very strong feelings for it as a true and noble object of thought. Practically, however, I had not learnt to value it, although I became more constant in my prayers from an increased [feeling] of its importance as a study. There were some moments perhaps during which I considered it in its true light, as a rule of conduct and a support in difficulties, but these were very transient. My attendance upon Teaty in her illness [Sept. 1831] supplied the most permanent one which I can remember. My mind was in much the same state up to the time of my joining you at Chelsea last summer. The change of life produced by leaving Oxford and adapting myself to the habits of a family at home, and of society abroad, soon showed me what a mistake I had made in the tone of self-sufficiency and independence which I had been at such labour to acquire. George can tell you how very wretched it occasionally made me. Upon this came my mother's illness, and with it a lesson which I hope never to forget. I saw that I had acted as a fool with regard to this world, and doubly as a fool with regard to the next. I made many good resolutions, a few of which I have adhered to, but I have learnt within the last year that my duties are more numerous than I had ever dreamt them to be, so that without the continual assistance of God I am totally unable to fulfil even the most evident and imperative of them. I was in this

temper when John's illness came upon us, and it has added so much to the lesson of last year, that I have seriously considered whether I could not be more directly useful to others, and more free from temptation to err myself, by entering into the Church than by continuing in my present profession. I do not wish to deny that this view may have been influenced in part by other considerations, such as those of diminished labour and better health, and a country life, but they certainly, as far as I know myself, have not been the chief inducements.

You have thus then a sketch, more detailed than I at first intended, of my present opinions and their formation. I believe it to be correct in the main, and I have endeavoured above all things to avoid affectation in drawing it. You are the only person to whom I have said anything on the subject, and I have not included my mother in this letter, because my views are not yet sufficiently decided, and as I know how much the prospect of it would please her, I am unwilling to give her any cause for subsequent disappointment.

Such, my dear papa, is my project, and I shall be anxious to hear your opinion of it.

Your affectionate son, JAMES R. HOPE.

Claydon: Thursday, August 28, 1834.
General the Hon^ble^ Sir Alexander Hope, M.P., &c.,
Luffness, Haddington, N.B.

General the Hon. Sir Alex. Hope to James R. Hope, Esq.

Luffness: September 1, 1834.

My dear James,—I have been deeply interested and affected by your letter of the 28th ultimo. The single heartedness with which you unfold to me the working of your mind with regard to the Church becoming your profession, shows a self-examination and honesty of intention which, in my opinion, and I believe also in the eye of God, fits you even now for undertaking the sacred duties of one of His servants.

The dreams of ambition and the temptations of the world, and the suggestions of indolence, though modified by the circumstances of each individual, are common to all men; and I may say that he is most likely to pass a happy life, and one

profitable to salvation, whose mind *soonest detects, to its own conviction*, the emptiness of such speculations—which in their prosperous state have terminated in disappointment, whilst in most instances they never reach the maturity requisite for a trial. Such is the result of my experience in witnessing the career of men endowed beyond others with superior minds, whose life was a fever, and whose death was not prepared for *in the way which I feel* to be of vital importance to us all.

Beyond these reflections, I consider that we are in this world to do good, and, above all, that species of service which under the extended view of charity comprehends an universal benevolence, in constant activity, to soothe the afflicted and alleviate human sufferings—whether they proceed from bodily or mental causes; and when to the exercise of these Christian virtues is added the nobler exercise of eloquence to turn men to God, I deliberately give you a Father's opinion that the Church is the highest Profession that you can embrace—and in *your case* the one under God's blessing most likely to conduce to the health and happiness of your life, as also to produce your talents and education in a sphere of the most extensive utility.

The decision now rests with you, and may God bless the course you may prefer, whatever that may be!

Yours affectionately,

ALEXANDER HOPE.

James R. Hope, Esq. to Gen. the Hon. Sir A. Hope.

Claydon: September 9 [1834].

Dear Papa,—I enclose the copy of your letter which you asked for; and the more I consider the subject of which it treats, the more inclined do I feel to act upon the opinion which you there give. At Oxford the other day I found an intimate friend of mine who has been about the same time at the law as myself, and I was pleased to find that he had been working the same vein of thought, and that his present state of mind might almost have been described in the very words which I used in my letter to you. We naturally talked at

some length on the question which so much interested us both, and particularly with regard to the opportunities afforded by the law of doing what we feel must be done, if there is a word of truth in the Bible. The conclusion at which we arrived was, that unless a man possesses very great virtues, both mental and moral, it is impossible that he should combine the success upon which his utility to others depends with the purity and self-denial upon which he must rest his own hopes of forgiveness. It can hardly be otherwise in a profession which requires a continual strife with other men for every inch of ground which is gained, and where there are constant temptations to alternate pride and disappointment. Let the chief place be gained, and then compare the means of doing good afforded by it to those which are synonymous with the very lowest in the Church; and, unless you include the chances of politics, I think you will find his influence less extensive and less really beneficial than that of any zealous parish priest. If the lawyer fails (and his success is much less certain than, to me at least, *some* employment in the Church), his whole life fails with him, for he can hardly ever determine to retire from that profession till he has unfitted himself for every other.

In short, at the end of our discussion we allowed no state or condition to be superior to that of a clergyman, except that of a country gentleman, and this because it includes all but the special *duties*, and more, perhaps, than the *opportunities* of the former. As, however, we are neither of us likely to attain to the 'Hall,' we concluded that it was time to think seriously of the 'Parsonage,' and your letter, which I will communicate to my friend, will, I have no doubt, be as great an assistance to him as it has been to me.

Your affectionate son,

JAMES R. HOPE.

I may here mention, parenthetically, that there is a vague recollection that Mr. Hope had at one time, in early life, the idea of becoming a lay-preacher: this, however, is doubted by an informant much to be

depended upon. If true, it may have been a passing impulse of this date, or perhaps should be placed a little later, which I judge so far the likelier, as there are other proofs of a conflict in his mind, when he had decided finally against taking orders, but still felt great obligations arising from his being on the foundation at Merton. To return, however, to what is certain, his decision, at the time now in question, to enter the Church. It naturally caused great interest among his friends. Mr. Leader writes to him on November 11, 1834: 'The people that I see now and then by chance, as Doyle, Calvert, Denison, and others, all ask me if you have given up the law. I tell them that I know no more than that you mean to remain in Scotland till December. What have you decided? I ask for my own individual satisfaction, and not to talk about it; as I know that the doubting and deliberating before taking up a determination is not a pleasant state of mind to be in. Therefore I hope that you have already decided one way or other.' Mr. F. H. Doyle writes a thoughtful letter on December 1, 1834, which I quote at some length, because he seems to have had the sagacity to have a sort of hesitation as to whether the step contemplated was, after all, one for which his friend had what we call 'a true vocation.'

F. H. Doyle, Esq. [*now Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, Bart.*], *to James R. Hope, Esq.*

My dear Hope,—Thank you for your letter, which I have read with great interest, though not without a certain degree of surprise, as when I saw you last I had inferred that you rather liked, and were making progress in the study of the

law. . . . Your statement was quite unnecessary to convince me that nothing short of the highest and most honourable motives would induce you to take upon yourself a responsibility so serious as that of a Christian pastor in these times of infidelity and corruption, as I know the soundness of your principles too well to have formed even for a moment any other supposition; nor do I think the change which has recently taken place in you one difficult to have been anticipated on a consideration of your character. You are not a man to be satisfied without an important object and a serious calling in life, and yet I don't think that you ever were disposed to seek very zealously or value very highly any form of worldly distinction or success. But the ambition, though dormant, might be awakened; and this (for I will speak to you with perfect frankness) is the only thing which excites any doubt or apprehension in my mind as to the propriety of your choice. Can you feel sure that in the course of your future life, when you see others, inferior, perhaps, to you in ability and every other qualification necessary to ensure success, pressing forward into eminence, and filling a larger space in the eye of the world than you do, that you will still rejoice and find an unalloyed happiness in the vocation which you have chosen? If you do feel certain that this will be the case, you are right to suffer nothing to divert you from your present intention; but it is a question which deserves to be seriously considered. I trust that at any rate, with a life of comparative leisure before you, you will not suffer the talents which God has given you to lie idle or be completely absorbed in your daily and weekly occupations. Why not, 'long choosing and beginning late,' devote the time which may remain to you after the performance of your duties to some important theological or philosophical work which may do God good service? Preparing for this by years of study, maturing it during years of thought, and fixing your mind upon it during years of elaborate and useful execution, will be sufficient to furnish you with a noble object and prevent the possibility of any returning depression which might seize upon you after the first glow of enthusiasm had subsided. I do not

say that at any time you would be oppressed by such feelings, but there can be no harm in providing yourself with additional securities against an evil of such magnitude; and the occupation of your mind on such a work as I have described, besides being in some degree a duty to that God who gave you superior abilities, might be of the highest value as regards your peace of mind, if you should happen to be placed hereafter in a situation the external circumstances of which might tend to discourage and depress you. . . . Let me hear from you soon, and believe me always

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

F. H. DOYLE.

Tower, Sunday afternoon.

The same acute observer, in a letter of nearly a twelvemonth earlier (February 12, 1833), had noticed talents in Mr. Hope that seemed to augur the career which in the end proved to be the one destined for him. 'Have you any thoughts,' he asked, 'of cultivating that art which, as Cicero observes modestly, lifts men above their fellow-men by the same rule that the power of speaking at all divides men from the beasts? You spoke of study and working at Oxford. You have, I think, a very good groundwork to serve as basis and foundation for oratory, being a cool fellow with a clear head, quite imagination enough, and a little tinge of bitterness which would tell well against Mr. O'D—— *et hoc genus omne.*'

Another very interesting portion of the correspondence extant on the subject of Mr. Hope's contemplated change of profession, consists of the letters exchanged between him and his law-tutor, Mr. Hodgkin, which I now place before the reader, remarking, however, that

the copies of those of Mr. Hope are only drafts, though in his handwriting.

James R. Hope, Esq., to John Hodgkin, Esq.

My dear Sir,—I understand from my brother that he has told you of my intention not to return to your Chambers, and I only regret that his absence from London when I was last there prevented me from giving you this information myself, especially as I know it would be convenient to you to make arrangements with your other pupils accordingly. A total change of profession, however, was not to be decided upon rashly, and this must be my apology to you for the delay. My brother has probably told you that the cause of my deserting you is a desire which has of late grown up in me—rapidly, but I believe, firmly—of *entering the Church* (taking orders), and thus changing the whole tenor and habits of my life. Notwithstanding the views which you, as a Friend, must entertain of the Established Church, I feel confident that you will approve of the step which I have taken on the grounds of the more extended and immediate usefulness, and the greater freedom from the ordinary temptations of life which this profession offers. My general habits will, I am afraid, subject me to the imputation of having forsaken the pursuit of the Law from indolence and disgust at the nature of its studies; but should such an idea occur to you, as I confess it fairly may, I trust you will do me the justice to believe that if such reasons were really sufficient to induce me to desert the profession which I am leaving, they must have been *qualified* (mixed with) and ennobled by higher *views* (motives) before I could dare to resort to that which I propose adopting in its stead. Of the duties of the ministry I have always conceived a very serious opinion, and if I did not feel resolved, with God's help, to act up to it, I feel how very sinful it would be to undertake a charge on the undue performance of which a 'greater condemnation' hangs.

The time, short as it is, which I have given to the Law, has brought me one among other advantages—I mean that of your

acquaintance—which I shall always prize. And this I say without the slightest intention of compliment, but rather with the selfish view of giving me a fairer right to keep it, now that the relation of Master and Pupil is at an end. In the hope that I may be successful in this, and with my best compliments to Mrs. Hodgkin, I remain,

My dear Sir, yours most truly,
J. R. H.

John Hodgkin, Esq., to James R Hope Esq.

Tottenham: 7 XII. 1834.

Many thanks, my dear Hope, for Thy truly kind letter, which certainly deserved an earlier reply; but I have not been guilty of so great a negligence as a comparison of *dates* might suggest, for Thy sheet was several days on its road to Lincoln's Inn.

Thou hast rightly judged that I should feel a lively interest in Thy pursuits. Much do I desire that the change on which Thou hast concluded may prove to be a right one—that it may be blessed to the perfecting of Thy own Christian character, the glory of God, and the good of Thy fellow-men. Notwithstanding that such are my hopes, I cannot say that I received the intelligence without regret. I did not, indeed, attribute the decision to indolence; but though I never imagined that the details of conveyancing had any very especial charms in Thy eyes, yet the acuteness and the diligence which I had witnessed in several cases of difficulty and intricacy gave me much reason to anticipate a career of usefulness and distinction at the Bar, and possibly on the Bench. Nor was the hold which religious subjects and the welfare of others had upon Thy affections the least interesting part of my anticipations. For it is with me a favourite idea that Christianity is as applicable to the man of business—aye, and I had almost said as well illustrated too in him as in the ministerial character itself. That religion is for the priests, and worldly-mindedness for the people, may be popery, but is certainly not Christianity. When, therefore, Thou speakest of 'the greater

freedom from the ordinary temptations of life which the clerical profession offers,' I doubt whether this alone would be a sound ground on which to build, more especially when we remember that our Lord Himself prayed for His disciples, not that they might be taken out of the world, but that they might be kept from the evil. Perhaps, however, Thou wilt think that I am poaching upon Thy manor; if so, excuse the freedom of a friend who is in no degree calling in question the propriety of the step Thou art taking, but only desirous that with the Christian armour (Ephes. vi. 13–18) Thou mayest obtain victory over Thy spiritual enemies, and not a mere truce with them.

It was truly kind of Thee to wish to enable me to re-arrange my pupil-room in consequence of Thy absence; but Thy year was so nearly expired that the only change which I made in consequence was to keep our good friend Ashley a little beyond the termination of his year; he returns to me next month for a second. He is quite well, and as amiable as ever; his diligence altogether astonishes me when I remember his numerous temptations to indolence. Hoping that I may thro' life retain that place in Thy friendship which Thy letter so obligingly assigns me, I am Thine sincerely,

JOHN HODGKIN.

My wife was much obliged by Thy message of remembrance. She desires me to add her kind regards.

James R. Hope, Esq.,
Rankeillour, N.B.

James R. Hope, Esq. to John Hodgkin, Esq.

My dear Sir,—The hurry of our contested election here has prevented me from sooner answering your letter; and I regret it the more, because, beyond the duty of thanking you for the extreme kindness which it breathes, I wish to show you that our opinions do not differ as to the character of the profession which I have chosen. I am very far indeed from holding that 'religion is for the priests, and worldly-mindedness for the people;' on the contrary, I consider the Christian character

susceptible of as many outward forms as there are different ranks, professions, and dispositions. But I believe, at the same time, that there are some circumstances which are more favourable to the increase of religion than others, just as there are some soils more adapted to the growth of peculiar plants; and if I have it within my choice to adopt a profession which *from its attendant circumstances, not from its immediate object,* is calculated to promote this end, I know of no Quixotism in spiritual matters which should induce me to choose the more difficult and dangerous pursuit.

[*Unfinished.*]

The following extract from a MS. and unpublished autobiography of Mr. Hodgkin[5] will be read with much interest at this point :—

Extract from Private Memoranda of the late John Hodgkin, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.

JAMES HOPE.

In 1835, James Hope, son of Sir [Alexander] Hope, the Governor of Chelsea Hospital, commenced his legal career of study with us. I doubt whether he had ever read a law-book, or even a simple Act of Parliament. Curiously enough (considering his subsequent career), the first considerable legal work on which I was engaged during his pupilage was the framing of a long and very intricate Act consolidating all the Acts of Parliament relative to the constitution and modification of the Birmingham Canal, and combining therewith many provisions from Acts of Parliament passed with reference to adjoining canals. He passed through his year of study with me with much freshness of mind, but much more like an ordinary intelligent Oxford graduate than like a born lawyer. Indeed, my reminiscences of him at this period are more connected with

[5] For the use of this valuable paper I am indebted to the courtesy of J. B. Hodgkin, Esq., of Elm Ridge, Darlington, son of Mr. Hope-Scott's friend and tutor. For a more exact notice of the visit to Dublin, see pp. 86–89.

pleasant literary, social, and general interest than with the discussion of difficult legal questions; but I remember that he showed a good deal of diligence and patience in analysing and abstracting those dull private Acts. About the time that he was with me, his eldest brother died abroad, and the event very much affected him, and had, I believe, a strong influence upon his religious feelings. His first impressions of this nature were, I think, connected with the views of the Evangelical party in the Church of England; but subsequently, meeting with the writings of Jeremy Taylor and some other divines of that school, he thought them more practical, and considered that holiness and the strict performance of the various duties of life were more enforced by them than by the Low Church. Within a year or two from this time he accompanied his relative the Earl of Haddington (who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant) to Dublin as his private secretary, an office for which he was admirably suited. On his return, he came down to Tottenham to see me, and he stayed the night. He took me aside, and strolled with me in the garden in order to relieve his conscience of a little burden, in nearly the words following: 'I suppose you will be reading to your family and the servants in the morning, and if you will excuse me, I should prefer retiring to my own room whilst you are so engaged.' I thanked him for his frankness, and assured him that I should much prefer his doing just that which was the most agreeable to his own feelings, but that in all probability all that would take place would be the reading of a chapter from the authorised version of the New Testament; for I fancied that it might be a Dissenter's prayer which might be the stumbling-block. He said: 'I thought it likely that *that* would be the case, but still it is in some sort as a religious teacher that you assemble your family, and with my views of apostolical succession, and especially considering that you are an unbaptized person, I should not feel easy to participate in the service.' I replied that I understood him, but that he would not be surprised that I could not on this account give up a practice which I believed to be my duty, and I only regretted that I did so little for the religious benefit

of my family, my friends, and my neighbours. This strong, though perfectly polite expression of his views, was the more remarkable as he had formed quite an exaggerated estimate of any moral or even religious qualities which he supposed me to possess; though ecclesiastically, I was such a heathen. The fact was this: having sat at the feet of Jeremy Taylor as his Gamaliel, he went by an easy transit on from him to Laud and the Pre-puritan Anglicans, and from thence to Vincentius Lirinensis and his famous axiom—'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.' And he was almost reading backward into mediæval theology, and though perhaps not himself aware of it, he was approaching Rome. Indeed, he told me himself, soon after this, that he was reading, not forwards, but backwards, among the wisdom of our conventual ancestors.

The election alluded to in the preceding fragment was that for East Lothian, which was contested by Mr. John Hope. His illness precluding him from any exertion, his brother, at the cost of another great interruption to his views, devoted a considerable time to conducting the canvass for him. Though the result proved unsuccessful, yet personally Mr. Hope made himself so popular, that, had his own ambition ever practically turned in that direction, it was evident that access to Parliament would have been very easy for him. I believe that, two years later, in 1837, a seat in Parliament was offered to Mr. Hope. Nothing, however, came of it. He certainly early in life, as we have seen, looked forward to Parliament as the goal even of professional exertions; but this stimulus appears soon to have ceased to influence him, and it may be questioned whether, with the moderation and independence that was natural to him, he ever could have made a great success in the political arena. In the instance alluded to, a pledge

demanded in favour of maintaining the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland had caused him a conscientious difficulty. The year 1835 had hardly commenced, when a great affliction, the prelude of others not less trying, came upon him. I refer to the death of his youngest brother Alexander, at the age of only twenty-one, the circumstances of which were very peculiar. He was a lieutenant in the 77th Regiment and quartered at Glasgow. He had been out hunting, and being caught in a storm, applied for shelter at a cottage, where the people received him most hospitably, dried his clothes and put him to bed—but in a bed which had been occupied by a patient ill of the small-pox. The consequence was, that on his return to barracks he was found to have taken the disease in a virulent form. His mother, who herself, not long before, had been in so suffering a state, came to Glasgow to nurse him; and to the distress of that trying time was added the confusion surrounding a sick room in barracks, the noise and disorder of swearing soldiers assailing her ears every moment, as she sat beside her dying son, who expired on January 20, after an illness of but a few days. It was to have been expected that so terrible an event would seriously affect Lady Hope's frail health; it brought back her illness; Sir Alexander too fell ill at the same time, both, however, having the comfort of their son James's society and unwearied care.

I have now to record a somewhat curious passage in Mr. Hope's life, which ensued on the subsidence of these troubles. A new scene of action was suddenly presented to his consideration, I believe towards the end

of 1834. His cousin Thomas, Earl of Haddington, who was now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, offered to make him his Private Secretary, an appointment which would have been tempting indeed to any young man at all ambitious of a great career in political life, both from its own intrinsic importance, and from its value as a stepping-stone to much higher distinctions. Mr. Hope thought proper to decline the proposal, stating his reasons in the following (draft) letter, in which, however, he so far meets his relative's wishes as to offer to visit the Vice-Regal Court, and to make himself useful in a sort of semi-official way for the time :—

James R. Hope, Esq. to the Earl of Haddington.

My dear Lord,—Your offer is a mark of kindness such as might have been expected from your uniform conduct to me; but, besides this, it implies a degree of confidence in my abilities and temper of which I fairly confess that I do not think myself deserving from anybody. This said, I will not take up your time with any further preliminaries, but go at once to my reply, only begging that you will excuse the unavoidable egotism to which it obliges me.

As to my ultimate destination in life, my view is still what it was, viz. that the Church presents a mode of life preferable to any other which is within the reach of a man to whom a profession is necessary for his support and usefulness, and that nothing but total independence of fortune will induce me to lay it aside. The tenor of my conduct must therefore be directed to this end; and it is because I fear that should I accept the office which you propose to me I might be thrown into circumstances which might compel me either to give up the continual contemplation of my principal object, or to leave you at a time when, from a growing acquaintance with the duties of the situation, I might be more useful to you than I can hope to be at first, that I have decided upon declining,

with many thanks, and with no small regret, the official dignity with which you would clothe me.

This out of the way, I have a proposal to make in my turn, to which I trust you will accede. I, the other day, suggested to my father that I thought I might perhaps be of some use to you in your new Government; and, as he agreed with me that if it were so there was no one who had a better claim to the services of any one of us than you, I had resolved to write and offer them. Since then your letter has confirmed me in my opinion, at least to the extent that you *yourself* think I might be useful, and has moreover imposed new obligations upon me.

If you will therefore take me over with you as an unplaced and unpaid varlet, who is willing to do anything he is bidden — dance with the wall-flowers—carry Lady H.'s fan—play long whist, &c., &c., and keep me for a few months, more or less, as you find it convenient, I am at your Vice-Majesty's disposal.

In this way I may, perhaps, relieve you and Lady H. from some of the discomforts attendant on a new settlement, whilst I shall keep myself free from engagements which I might perhaps find it equally difficult to fulfil with due regard to my own paramount interests, and to lay down with proper consideration for your convenience.

I trust you will admit my diplomacy in this, which is to me no *res tenuis*, and acquiesce in the proposal, while you assent to the refusal. It really will give me the *very* greatest pleasure to pay you and Lady H. a visit on the terms you mention. And I shall only wait for your reply to make my arrangements accordingly.

[J. R. HOPE.]

This proposal was gratefully accepted by the Lord-Lieutenant, in a kind letter dated January 4, 1835, and Mr. Hope accordingly proceeded to Dublin, where he resided for a brief period with the rank of what is called 'Gentleman-at-large.' This concession, small as it was, to the claims of kindred and kindness, was, however, one which Mr. George W. Hope, always his brother's

almost fatherly adviser, had been very unwilling to recommend. He had indeed been originally opposed to the contemplated change of profession, which he rather thought indicated instability of purpose, but had given in to it at last. The change, however, once determined on, Mr. George Hope, with a good deal of reason, declared himself much averse from anything that might tend even indirectly again to disturb his brother's views. He seems to have felt himself just able to admit that a visit to Ireland could hardly have been avoided, but nevertheless plainly shows his own feelings in the following very sensible letter:—

George W. Hope, Esq. to James R. Hope, Esq.

Lincoln's Inn: February 11 [1835].

Dear Jem,—. . . Respecting your plans—as I wrote the other day, being now convinced that the best thing you can do is to go into the Church, for both health and happiness—I am much against anything which I think at all likely to clash with that object; and that, on reflection, I am afraid is likely to be the case with any long residence at Dublin. With respect to the dissipation attending it I entertain no fear, but the objection I feel is, that the life will be one of perfect idleness, as I feel convinced you will find it quite impossible to read, or do anything else except dawdle about and gossip all day long. I am not sure that you can avoid going, but as such a life is very likely, though not to unfit you for the life you propose, yet to unsettle you very much in your purpose of adopting it, I think if I was in your place I would use the advantage of your being about my father and mother at present as a reason for curtailing your stay in Dublin, and returning to join them at Chelsea speedily. From Chelsea the transition to Merton is easy, if you wish it.—Yours,

G. W. HOPE.

James R. Hope, Esq.,
Luffness, Haddington, N.B.

There is very little in the correspondence to illustrate Mr. Hope's residence at the Vice-Regal Court; for anything intended merely to amuse the family circle would of course hardly deserve reproduction here. His attention seems, indeed, to have been directed to a certain extent to politics and to the question of national education, and a visit to Maynooth was at least proposed; but these interesting subjects are either left entirely blank as to details, or afford notices too slight for our purpose. However, Mr. Hope's sojourn in Ireland, which might easily have led to a career very different both from that which he immediately contemplated, and that which he finally adopted, was destined to have a sharp and abrupt termination. It will be recollected that his brother, John Thomas Hope, until a short time previously M.P. for Okehampton, had had a *coup-de-soleil* and brain fever in Norway the year before; and he had but imperfectly recovered from this illness, when, on March 2, 1835, took place his marriage with Lady Frances Lascelles, daughter of Henry, second Earl of Harewood. In less than six weeks from that date a relapse of the brain fever ensued, which terminated fatally, at Dalmahoy, on April 17. Mr. Hope left Dublin to attend his brother's dying-bed, and did all in his power to comfort his parents and the new daughter and sister of their house, who, widowed bride as she was, chose not to return to her early home, but remained with her husband's mother, till, on her own mother's death, her return to her father's house seemed unavoidable. She said that, even had she known all that was to happen, she would still have done as she did,

and taken the evil with the good. A prayer, written by Mr. Hope on this trial, for the use of his family, is to be found among his papers.

Mr. John Hope was indeed a person whom to lose would, in any case, have been severely felt by those around him. He was very captivating, and had great talents; so strikingly handsome, too, as to be popularly called 'Beauty Hope,' and the circumstances of his early death, especially as it followed so quickly on that of his younger brother, could not but have a powerful effect on Mr. Hope's mind, tender as it always was, and now deeply religious. A marked change came over him. 'He was never the same,' says one who knew him well in those days, 'after the deaths of his brothers. He became so silent — extraordinarily silent.' But Providence seemed resolved, not even thus, to leave him to himself. Another grief, of a totally different kind, but even more searching and sifting, came in rapid succession. He sustained a great disappointment, which led to his giving up all idea of adopting the clerical life. It is unnecessary to enter into particulars. His own view of its significance to himself was summed up in the words, *No man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven.* But though he came at last to this conclusion as to the career destined for him by Providence, there is abundant evidence to show that his religious feelings had deepened and settled themselves even more strongly than before. He very soon became, what he continued to be throughout, a great example of the possibility of reconciling practical religion with the incessant occupations of the busiest public life.

CHAPTER V.

1835-1837.

Mr. Hope Accepts a Deputy-Marshalship—Becomes Fond of the Law—Count Leo Thun on his Change of Profession—Correspondence with Lord Haddington—Secret Journey to Continent—Marriage of Mr. George W. Hope—Filial Dutifulness of J. R. Hope—Charity to Sick at Luffness—Death of Sir A. Hope—Removal of Lady Hope to Barnes—J. R. Hope Adopts Tractarian Views — Diaries 1836-37 — His Removing from Chelsea—Religious Habits—Charities of Earlier Life—Friendship for Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Badeley—Letter of Judge Park.

THE event recorded at the close of the last chapter formed a culminating point in the development of Mr. Hope's mind, though it is not till somewhat later that I am enabled, from his correspondence and other papers, to furnish details in illustration of its onward movement, which, indeed, may not for some time have been manifest or fully known even to himself. During the year 1835 a considerable portion of his leisure was devoted to translating from the German some treatises of Heeren's, whose works were being brought out in English by the then well-known Oxford publisher Mr. D. A. Talboys. Mr. Hope undertook the translation of the treatise 'On the Political Consequences of the Reformation,' and 'On the Rise and Progress of Political Theories.' This by-work probably had little bearing on his future labours, except so far as it might add some facility to his composition of an article on the

'Magdalen College Statutes,' to be noticed further on, which did form an important incident in his mental and religious history. In the summer of 1835 died his early friend and tutor Professor Mills; and it is a very characteristic circumstance that Mr. Hope had seriously offered to go out to Madeira to attend him in the loneliness and discomfort of the exile in which he had vainly sought a restoration to health. On Mr. Mills's death, a correspondence of some interest ensued between Mr. Hope and some members of the society of Magdalen College—the venerable President Routh and Dr. Daubeny—on the subject of a monument (which was erected in 1837) to the memory of Mr. Mills in the chapel of that college, at the expense of Mr. Hope and his elder brother, Mr. G. W. Hope, the two survivors of the three brothers who had been his pupils. In the same summer of 1835 Mr. Hope accepted the temporary office of Deputy-Marshal offered him by Judge Patteson, who was then going on the Welsh Circuit. This shows, what might have easily been anticipated, that he was already known to the chiefs of the profession, and in the way of obtaining those lesser notes of distinction which are the early and coveted omens of a successful career. About two years later he was again asked by Judge Patteson to accompany him as Marshal on the Northern Circuit, but on that occasion he declined the offer. It was conveyed to him in a child's letter (December 26, 1837) by John C. Patteson, a son of the Judge's, who afterwards became Anglican Bishop in Australasia, and there, as is well known, met his heroic death at the hands of the savages. The Welsh excursion dissatisfied

Mr. Hope, so far as regarded his settling himself to real professional study. On August 8, 1835, he wrote from Cardigan to his sister Lady Henry Kerr:—

I am idle—very, very idle—and do nothing but reproach myself for it, and then be idler than before. The truth is, that I believe my disposition, owing partly to ill-health, never was a regular one; and, during the last year, it certainly has not had many opportunities of settling. My own trip to Scotland—John's illness, and my attendance on him at Chelsea, Claydon, and in our journey abroad—the E. L. election—Dublin—Dalmahoy—with all that it entailed; finally, this circuit, which is an idle jaunt, and to a certain degree must necessarily be so—form no very regular history of the last twelve months of my life. However, if I have lost the power of application to my book, I trust I have learnt some lessons notwithstanding, and those such as I should probably never have acquired in any other way. And so in this, as in everything else, the evil and the good have come together; and certainly, if I manage it right, the good gained during the last year should prevail.

A letter of his from London to Lady Henry Kerr about six weeks later (September 19, 1835) shows very decided signs of the more healthful tone in his mind getting the victory:—

I have spent my time busily in London, without doing much, but the main advantage which I have derived from my stay has been the opportunity which it has afforded me of fairly considering my own position, and taking counsel accordingly. When I come up again in November I trust to get my habits and occupations put into a steady and useful course, and thus prepare myself for any of the accidents of life which may befall me. I am already in a much happier and more cheerful state than I have enjoyed for nearly a year past, and I have every reason to think this will continue. So give me joy, *ma belle!*

Some further unavoidable distraction followed in

consequence of a visit to Scotland involving family affairs, but the next term showed that his resolutions had been thoroughly efficacious. He resumed his attendance on Mr. Hodgkin, and applied himself vigorously to the study of the law, which, before long, had evidently caught a strong hold of his mind. He writes on January 9, 1836: 'My law goes on amazingly well; in fact, I am acquiring a relish for it which I thought quite impossible. This comes in part from my present good health, not one particle of which I intend to sacrifice to society this year, whatever the wise people of our family may say. I wish London was never fuller than it is now, and that I never dined anywhere else than at the Travellers'.' And again, on March 15: 'You will be glad to hear that I am getting fonder of the law as I get on in it, and that I dread an idle, or even a not busy day, beyond all other inflictions. Not so very long ago I hated this work, and now I really believe I am getting too fond of it.' When thus employed in London during the winter of 1835, Mr. Hope had resided for some time in the house of his friend Mr. Leader; but this companionship had come to an end at the beginning of 1836. He writes on January 21 of that year to Lady Henry Kerr: 'I have left my quarters in Stratton Street, as Leader is out of town; and I do not wish to grow to ease-loving, which the convenience of such an abode was fast making me.' He now resided with his parents at Chelsea, visiting Oxford from time to time, and taking an active part in the affairs of his College, in which he was elected to the office of Bursar (at Merton divided among three). A

few lines, belonging to this period, from a letter of Count Leo Thun's to Mr. Hope (April 9, 1836), will serve to show how entirely the opinion which such a friend, brought up under very different religious associations, had formed of him, agreed with that of all who shared his intimacy in his own country:—

> I am not at all of opinion that your change of feeling upon your profession does lower your character [Mr. Hope would seem to have written to him despondingly about this]. Is there anything more natural for every one who wants to spend his life as usefully as he can, than this wavering in the moment of decision? To me it was nothing but a new proof of your earnest way of considering life, which I like so much in you. I also deeply feel the truth of what you say about the need we have of some high standard to refer our principles to, in particular those of us who enter into public life with some ambition; and I thank God that He made me know that standard which nowadays, by a remarkable crisis in the development of civilisation, is misunderstood by so many noble minds.

In the spring of 1836 a correspondence of some local political interest took place between Mr. Hope and the Earl of Haddington on the question of the right to vote attached to some property in which Mr. Hope had a share. The view he took was different from that of his noble kinsman; but we see from a reference of Lord Haddington's to a letter of Mr. Hope's on the subject, that he had already given proofs of that clearness of judgment and rectitude of mind of which his great professional success in later life was so natural a result.

In the autumn of 1836 occurred a very singular episode in Mr. Hope's life. This was a visit to the

Continent which he made in October, and the object of which he kept a profound secret from all his friends but three. He seems not to have been without some anxious forebodings; for, before starting, he wrote to his brother, Mr. George W. Hope (on October 6), a letter with a memorandum about business matters, 'in case,' he says, 'anything should happen to me, either on my journey or in circumstances which would prevent me from giving you, personally, the information it contains;' and in the course of the letter goes on to acquaint him with the state of his affairs. In the event of his dying abroad, he permits his brother to learn the cause of his journey from either of three friends whom he names. 'It will perhaps,' he says, 'appear to you fantastical, but it is with me a matter of strong feeling; and whatever may be the result, I do not think I shall regret having undertaken the journey. May God bless you! my dear George' (he concludes); 'a good brother you have been to me, and may He reward you for it by making you feel every day more that your whole life should be guided by a direct reference to His service!—Your affectionate brother, JAMES R. HOPE.' His surviving relatives are, I believe, ignorant to this day of what circumstances can have led to this strange pilgrimage; and there is nothing in his papers to throw any distinct light upon it. I have only to add, that I have met with traces which satisfy me that, in some form or other, its motive was one of charity.

A subject of great joy to the family this year (1836) was the marriage of Mr. Hope's above-mentioned elder

and only-surviving brother, Mr. George W. Hope, with the Hon. Caroline Montagu, youngest daughter of Lord Montagu (son of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch). In her Mr. Hope gained a real sister, and often said so.

The year 1837 opened with still renewed domestic affliction. A sickness was prevailing all over the country under the name of *influenza*, the discomfort and danger attending which is continually alluded to in correspondence of that date. Both Sir Alexander and Lady Hope were for many weeks ill of this epidemic at Luffness, whither Mr. Hope went to assist them. A letter from a lady, nearly related to the family, will perhaps here enable us to form a distinct idea of the time. She had been asked by Lady Hope to come and help to make a little more cheerful the life of a young cousin, Lady Alicia Hope,[1] who, now motherless and her early home broken up, was being cared for by Lady Hope as her own child. But no cheerful time came; and, almost immediately, this double illness followed on the former visitations, giving a great occasion to the subject of this memoir to exercise his filial virtue, and to earn, I have no doubt, much of the benediction which visibly accompanied him through life. The two sufferers lay each in an adjoining room, Miss —— H. nursing her uncle, and James Hope his mother.[2] Some passages from the simple narrative before me would be interesting in themselves, common as are the trials they

[1] Lady Alicia Hope was the eldest daughter of John, fourth Earl of Hopetoun, half-brother of Sir Alexander Hope. Sir Alexander was left guardian to Lord Hopetoun's numerous family (ten sons and two daughters). Lady Alicia died in 1840.

[2] Let me here refer the reader to the *Preface*, p. [12].

describe, but cannot be withheld when they throw so strong a light upon the character I am endeavouring to draw—upon that humble, almost feminine, charity and kindness which he knew how to unite to the keenness and energy of a man fighting in the foremost ranks of the battle of life.

Miss —— H. to Lady Henry Kerr.

. . . [I cannot remember] details about James' extreme tenderness, care, and gentleness to both his father and mother; only the impression is, as if an angel had been in those sick rooms. . . . He never trusted his mother's medicines to any other hand than his own. He kept up her cheerfulness and spirits by his own. . . . When wanted, he was ever at hand, to soothe down the many little perplexities of his father's sick wants, and very often to make such fun about the trifles that they disappeared, or were forgot under his amusement. As the short daylight left us, there was the invariable demand from the sick bed: 'Now we must have some arrangement for lights.' (I think I hear the voice now.) Then the old servant brought the candles; but, oh! they might be placed and replaced by James twenty times before the right place was found; but, however often he had to move them, he ever did it with the same unwearied pleasantness. . . . While we had this sad influenza in the house, it was still more severe in the village, and I found that James was giving his unwearied attention there also, as in some cases it turned into low fever. I remember one very melancholy house; the man died of typhus fever. James had attended him. The same day that the man died, his wife was confined of twins; she was very ill, and James came and asked me to take care of her. That was a sad, close, unaired, and infected house. I know we none of us thought about infection, but through the mercy of our Heavenly Father no harm followed. James thought of every one, and only a hint from the doctor of illness took him to any cottage, or, if he thought I could do better, sent me.

I recollect he never left his mother till late, after the medicine for the night was given, and her maid had taken her place in her room. . . . After Alicia had gone to bed, sometimes he came into the drawing-room before I left it; and I recollect quiet talks that we had, often on religious subjects; and he often over-night settled the passage of Scripture that he intended to read next morning at family prayers. Another subject of conversation is deeply impressed on my mind by later events. It was the only subject which at that time seemed one of anxiety and regret; namely, his change of profession from the Church to the Bar. You must, far more than I do, know all the reasons why he sacrificed his own inclinations. What he expressed so much to me was, his conviction that he had no *talents*, he was sure, for the Bar, no *abilities* to succeed as a lawyer; that he would sorely disappoint his father and friends, might never have a brief, or make a fee! He was *very, very* low, and desponding on this subject; and I found on my return home, in speaking to the family-friend of us all, Mr. James Hope, W.S. (31 Moray Place), that he was at that time expressing the same to him, feeling, he said, so utterly without talents for the Law.

—— H.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the ardour with which he had been able to apply to his legal studies soon after he resumed them, it is plain he was now painfully discouraged as to his qualifications for the profession he had decided on, after two years' uncertainty. This may appear strange, not only when we consider the brilliant success which awaited him, but also his natural temperament, which was sanguine to a very uncommon degree. But his decision had cost him a severe struggle, and it was only to be expected that, after such storms, there would for a long time be much tossing of the waves.

Lady Hope recovered from the influenza, as did Sir

Alexander also, in some degree, and they were able to travel to their residence at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, of which he had been Governor since 1825. All their children joined them there, Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Hope, Lord and Lady Henry Kerr, Lady Frances Hope and J. R. H. It was soon evident that Sir Alexander Hope's strength was declining—from old age, as it might have seemed, though in reality this had been brought on by his wounds twenty years earlier than it would have arrived in the course of nature. He was most tenderly watched and nursed, until the end came peacefully, with his wife and children all gathered round his bed. He died on May 19, 1837.[3] This of course led to the breaking-up of the house at Chelsea Hospital, which Mr. Hope, with his mother, quitted the following July. In November of the same year Lady Hope removed to St. Anne's, a villa at Barnes, where Mr. Hope took up his residence with her, going into town during the day to attend to his legal business. The letter in which he acquaints her with arrangements made for her change of abode, gives a pleasing instance of his filial kindness, as well as of the religious view in which he now regarded life and its changes:—

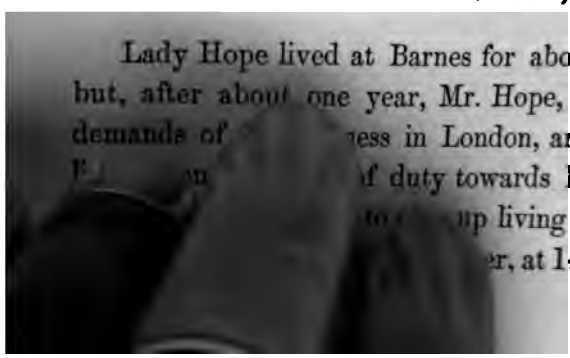
James R. Hope, Esq. to his Mother, the Hon. Lady Hope.

Travellers': November 3, 1837.

Dear Mama,—Samuel informs me that he has executed your commissions as far as was necessary, and that the house is well aired, and in all respects ready for you to occupy. You

[3] Among the letters of sympathy received by Mr. Hope on this occ... those from Count Thun and from his sons Frederick and Leo af... ing evidence both of their intimate friendship with him, ... ordinary value they appear to have set on it.

have therefore nothing to do but to step into St. Anne's, and long and happily may you live there! I am glad that you will have Sunday to spend quietly at Reading, instead of the necessary distractions which you would have had in a new house of your own; and (as I am an advocate for solemn times and seasons), I am not sorry that the first, that is, the Sacramental Sunday of the month, is to usher us into our new abode. Every epoch in our lives affords an opportunity for looking with thankfulness on the past, and with good resolutions on the future; and certainly the founding of a new home may well recall the blessings of our ancient one, and raise solemn thoughts as to the conduct which we propose shall mark our stay in it. Our minds, too, may go even beyond this, and while we remember the rapidity with which former scenes of happiness have slipped away, we may without affectation press forward from things changeable to things eternal and immutable, and thus value our place of earthly rest only as a type and foretaste of that other rest which we are assured 'remaineth' for the righteous. These feelings, it must be confessed, are more easily described to others than realised to ourselves, but though we may be no great proficients in such meditations, the very desire to entertain them communicates an elevation and calmness of thought which, if rightly improved, will, we may hope, with God's blessing, produce that high tone of contemplative piety which, above all other exercises, appears to purify and raise the heart. But I have already written you sermon enough; and so, with best remembrances to all with you, I shall look forward to our meeting at St. Anne's on Monday afternoon. Your affectionate son, JAMES R. HOPE.



Lady Hope lived at Barnes for about seven years; but, after about one year, Mr. Hope, partly from the demands of ...ess in London, and partly, I be- ...f duty towards Merton College, ...up living at his mother's ...r, at 14 Curzon Street.

Mayfair, his home when in London. It was a sad cross to Lady Hope, but mitigated by his commonly going to St. Anne's from Saturday till Monday. Afterwards, in 1844, Lady Hope gave up St. Anne's, and took a house at 35 Charles Street, Berkeley Square, and here Mr. Hope again resided with her till two years after his marriage, when the lease of his house ended in 1849.

Locality for biography may be compared to the setting of a picture. I therefore here mention the various places which Mr. Hope occupied in his practice at the bar: first, chambers at 6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn; then, about 1845 or 1846, 3 Paper Buildings, Temple; afterwards, 44 Parliament Street; lastly, 8 Victoria Chambers, Westminster, still, however, retaining possession of those in the Temple.

The period of his removal from Chelsea may be taken as that of the completion of the Anglican phase of Mr. Hope's religious development. It had indeed commenced earlier, and it had still changes to work out, but the type may be regarded as perfect at the period I have named. The circumstance of his early disappointment suggests a great secret spring of change in his mind, known probably to few of his friends at the time. Its external causes were partly peculiar to his own position, partly common to great numbers of the highly-educated classes contemporary with him. Peculiar in some degree to himself was his fellowship at Merton, as suggesting a particular line of study which for his intellect had a very strong attraction. I mean the moral and religious aspect of the mediæval college, its statutes and constitution, and the duties in conse-

quence binding on its members, so far as they could be carried out in modern times. This will appear very prominently when we come to examine his article on the 'Magdalen College Statutes,' which appeared in the 'British Critic' in 1840; but it may already be stated as one of the influences which came over Mr. Hope with a continually increasing fascination, and obviously prepared the way for an expansion in the Catholic direction. We have seen that, when his mind had once received religious impressions, it had very soon shown symptoms, like most of the earnest and thoughtful who surrounded him, of being drawn towards the Tractarian movement, and his papers show that about the time we are now engaged with he was decisively affected by it. By the middle of July 1837 Mr. Hope had formed habits in keeping with those of the more advanced of the Tractarian party, but still marked by a special character, that of the lawyer who aimed also at being a devout and religious person, not parading, yet far from concealing, the unswerving lines of self-government he had adopted; and further, stamped in a noble and uncommon measure by works of active charity of various kinds.

To this period, and the years just before and after it, belong the only materials in the shape of spiritual diaries or note-books that are to be found remaining among Mr. Hope's papers. Of these MS. volumes, one contains collects taken from the English Prayer Book, prayers from Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living,' resolutions and reflections by Mr. Hope himself, notes of his examinations of conscience (heads for self-examination

taken from Massillon occur in one place); entries of his communions; *agenda* for his daily life, all evidencing an incessant endeavour after holiness. Of these memoranda of various kinds, belonging to the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, the following short extract may here suffice as a specimen:—

August 6, 1836.—To pursue my profession steadily.

To examine myself, as occasion offers, four times a day.

To read the Bible every morning, in preference to any book of Divinity; should I not have time for both, unless in special cases.

To take more care of my health, sleeping and eating more, not fasting, except for some special purpose, and then moderately.

To read books of general information occasionally, and in reading on any difficult subject, to compel myself to do so attentively.

To go into society as occasion offers.

The following lines also throw much light on his character:—

Sept. 9.—Consider every morning what others may like in the day, and what good you may do.

I must not, however, withhold the records I find under three other days, which are both more extended, and most touching and beautiful, as well as deriving a special interest from their date and circumstances:—

JOURNAL.

July 15, 1837.—'A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one's birth.'—*Eccl.* vii. 1.

I enter on my 26th year to-day. May I, when this day returns again—if it please God that I so long live—be found

more advanced in all those things which make the day of death a better one than that of birth! And may I more especially increase—

1. In a true sense of my own past sins and present sinfulness and infirmity.

2. In humility of mind and sincerity both before God and towards man.

3. In self-denial and self-control in matters of appetite, conversation, personal distinction, and the convenience and honour of others.

4. In habits of meditation upon objects of Faith, as well as those of repentance.

5. In knowledge of God's Word—particularly as it regards the constitution of His Church, and the duties of those who have been baptized into it, and as it is conveyed in Scripture, explained by Catholic Antiquity.

6. In diligence, punctuality, steadfastness, accuracy of self-examination, and closeness of study.

7. In zeal with knowledge, charity, and benevolence, holding fast truth.

And as I know that all the progress which I have hitherto made in repentance has been God's doing, may I neither take credit to myself for the past, nor look to any assistance but His for the future! And as I cannot doubt the number and greatness of my sins, so may I be cautious not to think too highly of my penitence! the sufficiency of which can certainly be judged of only by God. Amen.

July 16, 1837.—To-morrow I leave Chelsea Hospital, which has been my home for about ten years; and I write these lines that if I should be otherwise inclined to forget, they may recall some passages of my history which are connected with this place, and which are of such a character as to render it to me the most memorable scene of my life.

I came here one of five children, and under the care of both parents. I leave it one of three, and with my mother only surviving. I leave it now a man, of some comfort, I hope, to my mother and relations; and, as I trust, a sincere and

converted penitent, for which, above all other things, may God be praised!

Whilst I have been here I have laughed and wept, as I shall never either weep or laugh again. I have spent days of folly and levity here, such as I hope will never return; and I have seen in others, and myself experienced, many sufferings—good chastisements, the return of which I neither deprecate nor think unlikely, except one, the bitterness of first repentance—those tears, I hope, will never have fresh occasion for flowing. I have learnt here [when I came from college] to lay aside a vain system of sophistry in which I trusted, and to submit to the humbling discipline of the world. I have been taught in time to use that discipline as an instrument for better purposes than worldly wisdom alone, and to join it with others in the greater discipline of repentance. I have been taught repentance itself, by slow degrees, with great reluctance and many imperfections, and amongst the lessons which led to it, have been many mercies and many chastisements which better deserved the name of mercies. Of these latter the chief have been two dreadful illnesses of my mother and elder brother, and great disappointment. Add to these Beattie's death, that of poor Mills, of Louisa's child, my father's loss, with my mother's frequent relapses (now, I hope, to cease), and there is the substance of the most important chapter of my life.

The religious knowledge which I possess, whatever be its amount, has been acquired since I first came here, and during the same period I have considered and laid down for myself those rules of action by which, if it please God, I will endeavour to frame the remainder of my life. I have seen my own weakness here, and have at times, I trust, been really humble. I have also certainly derived comfort and strength from God, and have learnt to value frequent and earnest, tho' imperfect and ignorant prayer. In fact, my conversion has been chiefly wrought here; and of that thankfulness and solemn remembrance which ought to attach to any measure of so great a mercy (even though the whole be not complete, and perhaps

far from becoming so), a large share must always be connected with this place.

Of outward comforts I have experienced here all that I could desire—kind parents, relations, and friends; abundant supplies against all kinds of want, and many luxuries which I wanted not; health, leisure, retirement, and the ready and frequent means of public prayer.

July 17.—This house, then, which I leave to-day, has been to me, for nearly half my life, a convenient and friendly home, and a school, in which I have learnt much, if not all of that knowledge upon which, be its amount great or small, I rest my whole future existence. It is well, therefore, that I should endeavour to fix the memory of these blessings by as many means as can be applied; and amongst these, an occasional visit to the scene of them, especially upon my birthday or at some other solemn time, may, if rightly undertaken, serve to keep alive a grateful sense of God's mercy, and an humble opinion of my own state, in my mind.

And may I remember, if at no other time, yet at these seasons, that the whole history of my past life, and especially that part which is associated with this place, ought to be with me a continual argument for great strictness of life, great humility, great faith, hope, and charity, and for such a constant thankfulness as will of itself, without any fear or other motive to duty, oblige me to a perpetual service of God!

And may He of His mercy grant me strength and diligence to finish the work which He has here begun, and wheresoever my life may be cast, amidst all temptation from without, and all my own sinfulness and infirmity, to maintain a resolute obedience to Him, by the blessing of His Holy Spirit, and through the merits and mediation of His Son our Lord! Amen.

Lastly, may God's blessing rest upon this place; may He further the objects of its institution, and may He bless the abode of all present and future sojourners within its walls, as fully to them as He has done to me! Glory be to Thee, O God Most High. Amen.

It seems to have been his rule to go to communion

once a week; and his memoranda make mention of the various churches he frequented for this purpose. St. Mary's, Oxford (the early communion in Mr. Newman's time), is often named; Lincoln's Inn Chapel occasionally; St. James's (Westminster); Barnes; Mr. Dodsworth's church, &c., to which may be added Margaret Street Chapel in Mr. Oakeley's time. I do not find All Souls', Langham Place, mentioned; at one period, however, it appears that it was Mr. Hope's custom to communicate there every Sunday, and place a five-pound note in the alms-plate. The incumbent of that church at the time was Dr. Chandler, the Dean of Chichester, who was one of the first clergymen in London to start an early weekly communion service.[4] One of Mr. Hope's private charities at this time was the support of an orphan child.

Great as were already his outward employments, he nevertheless found leisure, as he did throughout his busy life, for many toils in the interest of others, forming trains of important action, unconnected with his main line, except in the purpose which in general sanctified all he did. Besides exerting himself on behalf of his political party (at that period of his life Conservative),[5] and rendering kind offices to friends and relations, he carried on works of practical beneficence on a large scale, more or less in the service of religion in connection with the Anglican Church. Such were the Children's Friend Society, a scheme for promoting

[4] See an article by the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J., entitled, 'A Memorial,' in the *Month*, vol. xix. pp. 274–291, reviewing Father (since Cardinal) Newman's Funeral Sermon on Mr. Hope-Scott.

[5] As always, practically; but of his politics more in a later chapter.

juvenile emigration from the class sometimes called street Arabs, which occupied a large share of his time and thoughts; the National Society, in reference to the education of the lower classes; a plan of Missions for Upper Canada, and the foundation of Trinity College, Glenalmond, in Perthshire, of which he was one of the prime movers. Coincidently with these, he also zealously laboured for the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and of Christian Knowledge; and particularly in a costly scheme for the production of religious prints from the old masters, in a high style of art, which he largely supported from his own means, and which he thought would have a healthful influence on the minds and character of the people. In almsgiving of one form or other he was so lavish, that during the years I here refer to, I believe it may safely be said that he spent in this way almost the whole of his small patrimony; and of his expenditure of what remained of it, one large item consisted in the purchase of a library of theological works, including a set of the Bollandists.

The commencement of a new stage in Mr. Hope's life which I have now described was marked by the beginning of a friendship which was among those most valued by him whilst it remained unimpaired, and was the most cherished in recollection—his friendship with the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone. A most striking and beautiful letter of Mr. Gladstone's, which I have been permitted by his kindness to make use of,[6]

[6] See *Appendix* III., Letter of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to Miss Hope-Scott [now the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott].

furnishes an account of this intimacy and a view of Mr. Hope's character, so vivid and so powerful that I fear I shall but spoil it in the attempt, though unavoidable, to present in biographical style and order the particulars which it gives. Mr. Gladstone, whose earlier and rather slight acquaintance with Mr. Hope has already been noticed, had re-opened it in 1836, about which year, as he himself relates, he called upon Mr. Hope in his rooms at Chelsea Hospital, and found him surrounded with folios and books of grave appearance. Mr. Hope opened a conversation on the Oxford controversies then in agitation, which he said he had been seriously studying, and declared that, in his opinion, 'the Oxford authors were right,' with a solemnity of manner in this avowal which showed, says Mr. Gladstone, 'that he felt himself under the reception of a profound and powerful religious impulse.' Those who recollect Mr. Hope will easily picture the manner which so much struck his visitor on this occasion, and which it was his wont to show when he felt the subject of conversation to be a grave one. The acquaintance, once renewed, soon ripened into close friendship, and a correspondence commenced in February of the following year, 1837, portions of which, as it immediately turned upon the great objects which Mr. Hope had at heart, will be certain to interest my readers, and I shall accordingly quote from it as largely as I can, though space, as well as other obvious reasons, will prevent my transferring it to these pages as a whole.

Another friendship which Mr. Hope formed about the same time deserves also to be noted as colouring his life till it even drew near to its close. It was in the

long vacation of 1836 that he first became acquainted with Mr. Edward L. Badeley. This gentleman, who was about four years senior to Mr. Hope, had been educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. He held landed property in Essex, was held in high consideration as a learned and industrious lawyer, and became a prominent member of the Tractarian party in its most stormy period. Indeed, his regular appearance at Oxford at troubled times earned him the humorous nickname of 'the stormy petrel.' Afterwards, as a Catholic, he was one of Dr. Newman's counsel in the Achilli trial. Mr. Badeley's attachment to Mr. Hope was one that may be classed with the most devoted which the whole literature of biography has to record. He seems for years to have made it almost the one object of his life to show his respect and affection for him, and, as far as possible, to minister to his comfort. His letters to him frequently occur at intervals of but two or three days, and are a complete chronicle of the legal and ecclesiastical gossip that was going on in the party to which both the friends belonged. Scarcely a birthday of Mr. Hope's passed which was not commemorated by a gift of Mr. Badeley's, in the shape of some rare volume, commonly of the devotional class, which he thought would most interest and please him. Indeed, Mr. Badeley's kindness was so completely self-forgetting, that his friend sometimes thought himself obliged to restrain it—a severity which the other deeply felt, but which by no means abated his eager desire to do some good to one whom he so 'loved and reverenced from afar,' and to find or make occasions for it. He seemed to cling to Mr. Hope with every tendril of an affectionate heart

and mind; nor did this friendship ever undergo a change, save only to receive into its undivided ring the wife and the daughter of his friend.

In concluding this chapter a letter of Judge Park's appears worthy of preservation, both as showing the impression which Mr. Hope's character had produced, and as naming some of the persons who formed his circle in London at the time.

Sir J. A. Park to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Bedford Square: February 15, 1837.

My dear Sir,—I send you herewith a little present, which I beg you will accept, however trifling, for my sake, and as the first-fruits of my sincere esteem for your excellent character. The memoir of Mr. Stevens will entertain you, and the little tract on the Sacrament it was not needful I should send for *your* improvement, blessed be God, but to have the opportunity of informing you that before I parted with it, at the request of the Society, I had *gratuitously, as far as I was concerned,* dispersed about 50,000; and I have reason to believe that much good was effected by it.

As to my various books on the Scotch Episcopacy, I was looking for them to lend them to you; but I now have a perfect memory that I lent them some time ago to some one, but I am ashamed I cannot recollect the person. I cannot call to mind who could be interested in that interesting subject, but such a man as yourself, such as Riddell, Kenyon, Badeley, or Dalton. I wish when you see them, or any of them, you would ask if they have them. When I get them you shall have them.

I told you I must not be expected to pay visits, but though when you call I may be out, yet depend upon it *I never am denied*; and the oftener *you weary the steps of my door*, as the Book of Ecclesiasticus has it, it will be the more agreeable to, my dear Hope,

Yours very faithful and sincere,

J. A. PARK.

The following letter from Mr. Hope to Mr. Hodgkin[7] will throw additional light upon the religious views of the writer, in this early stage of his progress towards catholicity, some months later in the same year 1837.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to John Hodgkin, Esq.

Temple: August 30, 1837.

My dear Sir,—I enclose a book and some pamphlets, which I would gladly have delivered in person, as I might have explained one or two points regarding them more easily than my present hurry will allow me to do on paper.

I also send a letter entrusted to me by Ward [probably Mr. W. G. Ward, afterwards the celebrated author of 'The Ideal of a Christian Church], relating to the same subject.

The remarks which I wish chiefly to make are these:—

1. That all writings herewith sent relate to the preliminary question of the Rule of Faith, either chiefly or solely, and that you must by no means suppose that, even independently of this rule, we are not able to support the doctrines of our Church by critical and reasonable interpretation of Scripture, as I hope hereafter to show you in the case of Baptism particularly.

2. In Keble's sermon, I wish to explain that I think he has used rather a dangerous illustration from the Common Law—dangerous, at least, to a lawyer who knows its plastic character in the hands of the judges, though not, perhaps, to a layman, who supposes precedent to be evidence of some remote enactment of the legislature. Also, that he is disposed to press *independent* traditions (not as *necessary*, but as great objects of reverence) in a way which may throw discredit upon his argument, as being more than the premises will properly bear.

3. The *Catena Patrum* is sent as an authority on these grounds only: 1st, That the writers were men, for the most

[7] Permission for the use of which has been kindly given by Mr. Hodgkin's widow, Mrs. Hodgkin of Undercroft, Reigate.

part, of great learning and piety, many of whom lived in times when matters of this sort were far more discussed and better understood. 2nd, Because they professed the doctrines of the Church of England (which, I think, I have heard you say you think in the main sound), and conceived them to be capable of proof indifferently either from Scripture or tradition.

I propose returning to Oxford to-morrow, where I shall be glad to hear from you. Of course, on all grounds, I regret not having seen you to-day, but John explained the cause of your absence.

Yours very truly,
JAMES R. HOPE.

J. Hodgkin, Esq.

P.S.—Address Merton College.

CHAPTER VI.

1838.

J. R. Hope Called to the Bar—His Professional Career in General—Correspondence with Mr. Gladstone on Children's Friend Society—Joins the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K.—Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Former—Previous Advocacy of Same Views by Mr. Newman—Views of J. R. Hope on Anglican Church in Upper Canada—Religious Diary, 1838—Latin Litany at St. Mary's.

On January 26, 1838, Mr. Hope was called to the Bar by the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple; two days previous to which, on January 24, he had proceeded B.C.L. at Oxford. From the date of his call he practised for a short time, and to no great extent, in the Ecclesiastical Courts. I am aware that this has been denied, but am informed that his fee-books show that he did practise a little in Doctors' Commons, chiefly in the years 1841, 1842, and 1843. It is a branch of the profession which his tastes would doubtless have rather led him to prefer;[1] he, however, discontinued it, and from a very honourable motive. The business of the Ecclesiastical Courts is, or at least was at that time, very much an affair of family connections, and in the hands of men of routine, who would have greatly suffered from the rivalry of a young and brilliant advocate, whose talents almost immediately alarmed them. Mr. Hope did not wish to disturb their position, and

[1] Compare an important letter of Mr. Badeley's to Mr. Hope, *infra*, p. 143.

chose instead to lay himself out for success in a different line. Such at any rate is a tradition I have heard, and it is quite in keeping with his whole character. He began the same year to appear before the committees of the Houses of Parliament. Indeed, the first date in the fee-books is in reference to a Scotch Railway Bill in March 1838, and he was further engaged in two or three election petitions. He was also counsel to Government in preparing certain important bills in 1839 and 1843–4. It was, however, in 1843 that his career as a Parliamentary barrister really commenced. In that year his work before the committees begins visibly to increase. In 1844 he received his first general retainers, some eight or nine in number. In 1845, the great epoch of railway legislation, he was making a large income, to be developed in 1846 to an enormous one. The foundation of his whole success may be considered as having been laid in his great speech before the House of Lords in 1840, on Cathedral Reform, of which more hereafter. I have thought it well to give this general outline of his professional career in commencing the period to which it belongs. More detailed information on this head will be found in a later chapter of this memoir.[2]

To return to the great charitable works of his earlier life, summarily mentioned in the last chapter, it was perhaps through his friendship with Mr. Badeley, and also with Mr. Serjeant Adams (the father of another dear friend, the unforgotten author of the 'Shadow of the Cross'), that Mr. Hope became in-

[2] See chapter xxii.

terested in the Children's Friend Society. This association had originated in the year 1830, chiefly from the zeal and philanthropy of Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, and had laboured for some years in ameliorating the condition of the neglected children of London, under the name of the Society for the Suppression of Youthful Vagrancy, which appellation it was found desirable to alter, for fear of prejudicing its unhappy objects. By the time Mr. Hope joined it, the society had assumed a considerable degree of importance, the Queen having condescended to accept the title of its Protectress, and Government both at home and in the colonies having favoured its operations. It had commenced at an early period to send out juvenile emigrants to New Brunswick and the Cape, with the prospect, after the termination of their indentures, of being settled in the country by means of savings arising from their wages. Mr. Hope took an active share in the society's affairs for some years, and the reports for 1838 and 1839 were, I believe, drawn up by him. He also took much trouble in certain negotiations between the Children's Friend Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to obtain the aid of the latter in supporting a missionary to whom was assigned the duty of going on circuit through the farming districts of the Cape, to look after the religious instruction of the children, and to report on them generally. To transfer large extracts from such papers to these pages would be only fatiguing to the reader; but I venture to quote from Mr. Hope's correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, an

outline of the objects of the Society as they then presented themselves:—

James R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

Luffness, Haddington: February 10, 1837.

My dear Gladstone,—You must excuse my troubling you at this busy season on the subject of this letter, since it is the very busy-ness of the season which makes it advisable that I should consult you at once.

I saw not long ago in the Parliamentary Reports a notice relative to the distribution of waste lands in the colonies, in which, if I mistake not, reference was made to the report of a committee which sat last Session, and of which you were a member. Of this report I have an imperfect copy, which omits part of the resolutions of the committee, and I am, moreover, wholly ignorant of the extent and nature of the bill which it is proposed to found upon them.

In this state of ignorance, therefore, I shall be obliged to you to tell me either from what occurred in the committee, or from the acquaintance with the subject which your late post in the Colonial Office must have provided you with, whether you think that the object which I have in view, and which I wish briefly to explain, is likely to be facilitated by the proposed bill.

There is a society in London called the 'Children's Friend Society,' the object of which is to reclaim destitute and vicious children under a certain age, and to apprentice them in the healthy British colonies. It has now been in operation for three or four years, and during that period about six hundred children have emigrated under its auspices, after a short stay in its old schools at Hackney Wick and Chiswick, and have been apprenticed in the colonies. The majority of these are boys, and have been put to agricultural labour, which in the Canadas and at the Cape (to which they have been principally sent) appears to be the most remunerative employment to which they can under the circumstances be fitted. In this society I take a considerable interest, as it appears to me that its system

has in two ways a beneficial operation. It takes away the elements of crime and misery from this country, there being scarce a doubt that the large majority of the burglars and other evil-doers in London become corrupted at a very early age. And it supplies the colonies with a class of emigrants which is asserted by competent men, and, indeed, sufficiently appears of itself, to be one of those most needed by them, and most likely to thrive in them. The apprenticeships to which the boys are bound last, as in this country, till they attain twenty-one, and consequently (the average age of our emigrants being under fifteen) none of them have as yet expired; but I think that the success of the institution would be greatly promoted, and substantial good done, were Government, at the expiration of these and future apprenticeships, and upon proof of good conduct during their continuance, to allow these lads to purchase small tracts of land in the colony to which they belong, under such conditions of gradual payment as would yield a moderate return without oppressing their industry while yet labouring under its first and chief difficulties.

It would be easy to go into greater length into this subject, but I have confined myself to that which appears strictly necessary to explain my present purpose in writing to you, viz. to ask whether you think the bill now about to be brought before Parliament is likely to furnish a favourable opportunity for putting forward the claims of the society's apprentices, or whether, supposing sufficient power to be left to the Executive to entertain such an application after the bill has passed, it would be more advisable to delay it. I would fain add, as attorneys do to counsel after they have asked every imaginable question, that 'you would be pleased to advise generally in this case,' and tell me whether you see any objection to the scheme proposed—but this must be regulated by your leisure from other and more urgent business. . . .

I spent last Sunday in Edinburgh, and dined with the Ramsays, from whom I heard what an agreeable party I missed when you and yours were there.—Yours very truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to James R. Hope, Esq

House of Commons: February 13, 1837.

My dear Hope,—I have read with much interest your letter of the 10th, which arrived this morning.

My answer, so far as it relates to the bill of which you have seen a notice, will be short and direct. I do not think that it would afford you at all an eligible opportunity of effecting what you want, even if carried—nor, indeed, any opportunity at all—for the object of its promoters is simply to provide an extensive system of emigration based upon a fund to be obtained by land-sales, strictly irrespective of persons and applicable exclusively to the purpose of conveying labourers to the colony concerned. I think the bill would be a mischievous interference, and that the question of the disposal of lands is not ripe for legislation. Sir George Grey has given notice to the promoters of the bill that he will oppose it, and I, unless much otherwise informed upon the subject hereafter, mean to vote with him.

But your project appears to me, as considered upon its own merits, to be very well worthy of the attention of the Government; and I think that if the officers of your society were to enter into correspondence with the Colonial Office upon the subject, they ought to, and probably would, find a disposition to listen to them, and to aid in an undertaking which, at the first blush at least, appears so benevolent and so rational. If I can be of any service I shall gladly render it, but as I am unconnected with the society, the Government might expect a more appropriate organ to be chosen, particularly as I am an opponent, though the question is one which I do not doubt they would consider as exempted from the jurisdiction and influences of party. I think there might be a difficulty about paying by instalments.

Pray remember us when you come to town, at No. 6 Carlton Gardens. I have gone to live there with my father, and have let my rooms for a twelvemonth.—Believe me, most sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

J. R. Hope, Esq.

For many months after this date there is an interruption in the correspondence, both the friends doubtless being in town. In the next letter in the collection, dated 'Fasque, October 16, 1837,' Mr. Gladstone promises a subscription of 10*l.*, and mentions persons connected with the Cape to be interested in the undertaking. He adds: 'I shall be glad to co-operate with you as far as my ability goes. The people at the Cape have made some use of me in Parliament, and I might be of use to your clergyman by introductions. You will not, I hope, exclude from your plan local contributions.'

James R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

October 24, 1837.

My dear Gladstone,—You express a hope that we shall not exclude local contributions from our plan, to which I answer that though I had not considered the point with reference to the question as it stands at this moment, I have always contemplated the possibility of our being instrumental in sending out (eventually) a sufficient number of clergymen to allow of their being stationed in particular districts, and thus form the skeleton of a parochial system which would be available to (and ought to be supported by) the adults who may have settled in that neighbourhood as well as to the society's apprentices. At present, however, our resources are so small, and the children so scattered, that we must content ourselves with procuring an itinerant missionary, who shall from time to time make circuits amongst them, catechise and assemble them as often as may be for public worship. If the local contributions which you allude to are those which might be made for the benefit of the children, and not for that of the contributors as parishioners of the clergymen in question, I need hardly say that we should be very glad to receive them; but if your words point to the latter sense, I fear it will be some time before we can

hope to have sufficient clerical assistance to allow of so local a system as this would imply. I may add, that it is proposed, and indeed it is a fundamental part of the scheme as it now stands, that whatever funds we may be able to raise, shall be made over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by way of trust, and that the whole superintendence of the matter shall rest with them. This was a condition of the Bishop of London's sanction, and one which we readily acceded to.

. . . Your experience will perhaps make you treat as enthusiastic the hope which I entertain of making the Children's Friend Society the means of breeding up a healthy and religious population in our colonies under the superintendence of the Church. But it is well worth trying what may be done towards it, especially as I think that no system of colonisation which I have ever heard of would meet so many ends as that which might be organised by our union between the Children's Friend Society and the S.P.G.

Believe me, dear Gladstone,

Yours very truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.,
Fasque, Fettercairn.

The Society had many difficulties to encounter. There were cases of alleged ill-treatment on the part of the masters, and great temptations to immorality, especially from the state of the coloured population at that time in the Cape. From the reports it would appear that these objections had been exaggerated, but I believe that, after some years' trial, the undertaking, like many other charitable schemes of the kind, nobly conceived and devotedly sustained, ended in disappointment.[3] I have understood, however, that it was the work of this society that originally suggested the

[3] See chapter ix.

establishment of Portland Prison for juvenile offenders; and in all probability, from its efforts to remedy that evil which, as Mr. Hope remarks in his report of 1838, is 'the most shocking which a thoughtful mind can contemplate—that of childhood without innocence—of a Christian profession without the means and opportunities of ever becoming acquainted with the privileges or duties which it implies,' arose the system of reformatories, long since so important and recognised a supplement to the prison system of these countries.

It was about the year 1838 that Mr. Hope also became connected with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This institution, chartered by the Crown in the early part of the eighteenth century, had shared in the torpor which so long hung over its parent, the Anglican establishment. More zeal was evinced by the sister, or rather rival association, which arose in 1800, the Church Missionary Society; but the latter, and even the former, to some extent, had to seek among Danish or German Lutherans for a supply of ministers willing to serve on foreign stations, which the worldly inducements that English wealth could offer were unable to keep up. At the time we speak of, however, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had already been roused from its slumbers. The beginnings of its renewed energy dated from a pamphlet of Dr. Pusey's in 1825, calling for increased subscriptions; and it was early felt by those who shared with him in the Tractarian movement of 1833, that this society was their natural ally. They identified Anglicanism with the Catholic

Church; now the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was Anglican by its very constitution, Anglican prelates, with some other dignitaries, being by charter members of it, and the Sovereign its patron, so that in supporting it they seemed to be supporting the Church, as opposed to self-constituted bodies. Those who called themselves Anglo-Catholic gladly subscribed to it, and for the present met the high-and-dry section on its platforms as a common ground; whilst all Evangelicals and Low Churchmen, as time went on, preferred the Church Missionary Society, following the traditions of the earlier and opposite revival, which originally sprang from the impulse given to the Reformed Church of England by Wesley and Whitfield.

Mr. Hope gave a zealous support to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and still more, a little later, to its offshoot, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But to his clear head and naturally catholic mind there was, even from the beginning, something wanting in such institutions to satisfy him; and this feeling, of the full significance of which he himself was yet unconscious, appears in an important pamphlet, dated June 27, 1838, which he published anonymously, under the title of 'Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, occasioned by the late meeting in support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts' [London: C. J. Stewart and Rivingtons]. It seems that much had been said at that meeting of the appalling spiritual destitution in the colonies of the British Empire. But what took the greatest hold on Mr. Hope's mind were

certain observations in which may now be discerned the germs of the changes that came on later, and which he already saw his way partially to unfold. Yet the greater breadth of his own view already contrasts curiously with the style of the remarks which he quotes :—

> [From amongst several principles more or less distinctly expressed by different speakers] I am anxious to select one in particular for the consideration of your Grace. That to which I allude was thus stated by the Primate of Ireland :—'That which invests the society with the greatest extent of interest in my eyes, is that it is directly connected with the Church Establishment of the country.' Mr. Le Bas spoke still more plainly. 'The Church,' said he, 'is the best missionary society.' With great deference for both these speakers, I submit, my Lord, that the principle would have been more truly expressed had it stood thus :—'The Church is the original and rightful missionary society; others are then only tolerable when she is inactive; and even then, those are the most commendable which are most nearly connected with her.' (Pp. 4, 5.)

In drawing out this principle, Mr. Hope points out how incongruous an idea it would be to conceive the Church of Jerusalem, or the primitive Church in general (he seems to regard the former as the mother-Church of Christendom), sitting idly by whilst, on the contrary, self-constituted associations collected funds, educated teachers, acquired power from the civil rulers, and organised systems of correspondence and control to propagate the Gospel throughout the world. He finds that the Church of England had been guilty of this negligence, in consequence of which colonies had grown into independence where her communion had not passed its infancy. This was due to the apathy

caused by her reliance on the State, which had proved itself unworthy of her confidence by refusing, as regarded its action on the colonies, to be shackled by any standard of belief, and whilst allowing a pittance to the Church of England within the colonies, had invited thither the Church of Rome also.

His remedy is, to develop the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as already, of the two societies, the one in nearest relation to her, as a *Committee* of the Church of England for Apostolical purposes; and to absorb and adopt into its system the other religious associations (such as the Church Missionary Society), which he thinks might fairly resign to the Church their claim to an independent existence, their most active members to be constituted sub-committees of the Church, all which would be a sacrifice of feeling, not of principle. He wished the Society, thus re-constituted, to be recommended to the clergy by their diocesans, or even by the whole bench of bishops, to the Church of England, and a vigorous effort to be made for its pecuniary support, and contributions to be presented 'in their fitting time and place—on the first day of the week, and at the communion table of the Church.'[4]

Much of this is obviously rather youthful in its style

[4] It is remarkable that, in the year 1830, Mr. Newman, as the secretary of the Oxford Association of the Church Missionary Society, had already printed and circulated a pamphlet in the University on behalf of this very subordination of the Society to the Church itself, which Mr. Hope in 1838 advocated. In consequence, however, without any delay the members of the association held a meeting, and put him out of the secretaryship, Dr. Symons, the Warden of Wadham, filling the chair. *Vide* Newman's *Works*, 'Via Media,' vol. ii.; also Sir J. A. Park's book on Stevens, alluded to in his letter given *supra*, p. 112.

of thought, and still more in its sanguine anticipations. The writer was only twenty-five, and that he, at such an age and at that period, should have addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury on a subject of public importance to his communion, shows, what is otherwise very clear, that even at that early stage his was no ordinary character; and that it was in a business-like and practical manner that he sought to carry out the views he had obtained from the Oxford writers, viz. by bringing them to bear on the outward organisation of his Church. He might perhaps, had he missed the grace of conversion, have held, in the Anglican Communion, something like the position of men like Robert Nelson in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Fortunately for him and others, these theories broke down the more completely, the more zealously it was attempted to realise them. To return, however, to the pamphlet: it is scarcely necessary to remark that it shows Mr. Hope had yet much to learn as to the nature of the Catholic Church, though he had, with great acuteness, seized part of the truth concerning it. He seems to give to the Church of Jerusalem an importance very natural in one who was as yet unprovided with the real key to Church history, viz. the position of the See of Peter, although the evident similarity of the rank of the Church of Antioch (which he also mentions) to that of Jerusalem might have shown him that he had not caught the true bearings of the question. Also, his idea of the functions of societies in a Church is somewhat crude, as might be expected from one ignorant of the working of the many confraternities spread over the

whole of Catholic Christendom, such as that of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Holy Family, and others, which it would be scarcely correct to call committees of the Church. It would not, however, have been difficult for either friends or enemies of Catholicity to have guessed what direction he was likely to take in the long run. What practical effects his publication may have had belong rather to the historian of Anglicanism in this century than to the biographer of Mr. Hope, but I believe the pamphlet attracted a good deal of notice at the time.

It appears further, from Mr. Hope's correspondence, that he had a scheme, agreeably to the views thrown out in his pamphlet, of increasing the power of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel by bringing it into union with other outlying bodies. Thus he proposed, as regarded Upper Canada, that the management of the Anglican Church affairs there should be transferred from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to a standing committee of the Canadian Society, a few active members of which should be appointed by the former, which should also exercise a veto on questions of common interest. This he thought might lay the foundation of one general Church Society, with a sub-division of active committees for different parts of the world; and he looked forward to the Church Missionary Society being brought into connection with the Canadian Society as another step in the same direction—the scheme to be completed by the formation of a joint board of reference for all. The place thus given to the Church Missionary Society in his plans is an

interesting feature of them, as it shows that whilst his mind was naturally Catholic, it was also large and generous, desirous to develop whatever good he could find, consistently with principle. Many of the foregoing details may appear to Catholic readers of small moment; and, indeed, I am not aware to what extent Mr. Hope's ideas were ever realised; their record in this biography is, of course, simply intended to show the progress of his mind up to a certain point. It was, quite unconsciously as yet, having a glimmer of the faith, and attempting to find a sort of artificial Catholicism or universality in the amalgamation of these societies over the wide-spreading British colonial system. In concluding this head, I may mention that as early as October 1838 I find a note of Mr. Newman's to Mr. Hope, informing him that Mr. Oakeley was ready to preach on certain days, and that he had added, 'I shall be very glad to do so anywhere on the Queen's letter' (i.e. for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel). From a letter of Mr. T. B. Murray's to Mr. Hope (Dec. 31, 1838), it appears that by that date it had been proposed to make Mr. Hope a member of the Committee of General Literature and Education under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had already in July of that year made a grant of books to the Children's Friend Society. About this time he was much in communication with the Rev. Benjamin Harrison (now Archdeacon), then assistant-secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and (Aug. 20) chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a letter dated Sept. 10, 1838, I find Mr. Harrison asking

him for some extracts of the Central Society's first publication, and of Parliamentary evidence on secular schools for Archdeacon Manning. This is the first occasion on which mention occurs of that eminent person in Mr. Hope's papers. As brother-Fellows of Merton they must have been previously acquainted, and as time went on a friendship was formed between them, which, as we shall see, left its mark on the culminating event of both their lives.

Though the preceding pages of this chapter have far from completed an account of Mr. Hope's labours during this busy year, yet as the date of the publication of the pamphlet which has just been analysed brings us near to the anniversary of his birthday, the narrative may be interrupted in order to give a few pages from his diary in illustration of his inner life at the same period, and sufficient to show how strictly and even sternly he called himself to task on the fulfilment of his religious duties.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn: July 14, 1838.

To-morrow morning, being Sunday, I purpose to sanctify my birthday by attending the Holy Communion at St. James's, before going to my mother at Barnes. This Eucharist will be the 35th the celebration of which I shall have attended within the past year. 'The rain hath come oft upon me.' What is the increase? Is it that 'which receiveth blessing from God,' or that 'which is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned?' My talents are many—have they lain in a napkin, or have I 'occupied' as though I looked that Christ should come? Would to God that I could be sure of my answer, and not doubt my own heart while I give it! Some answer, however, I *must* give, and may He, 'to whom all hearts be open, all desires known,' keep me from the sin and snare of hypocrisy!

During the past year then, if I may judge rightly and may so speak, my chief exertions have been directed towards fitting objects; among which I reckon the arrangement of our college-matters; the establishment of a chaplain at the Cape; the settling of my mother at Barnes; the preparation of a work on colleges; slight participation in the labours of the S.P.G. and of the new Education Committee;[5] and last, not least, increased attendance upon the services and sacraments, with increased obedience to the discipline of the Church. These have been my *general* objects; but much, very much, have I failed both in the diligence, sincerity, patience, humility, and wisdom which ought to have accompanied these principal efforts, and also in many less evident, but not less necessary acts of faith and of charity which ought not to have been interrupted by any more specious pretences of good. Thus, in regard to the college, I have been desultory and impatient in my labours, vain and hasty and uncharitable in pressing the result of them upon others; ambitious too, and selfish at times, if not constantly, in my motives to them. In regard to the Cape, I have also wasted time, and used questionable means of advancing my object. I have been proud, too, about its success. With regard to my mother, much was omitted, much carelessly done. My college-book has dragged on slowly. The S.P.G. is but begun. The Education Board, if anything, more recent still. My church-going has been capricious, and of late, I fear, has slackened in its ardour. The Communion I have not always prepared for as I might have done by acts of repentance; nor profited by, through subsequent meditation and thanksgiving; nor have I always rejoiced to attend it. My fasting, too, has been irregular, sometimes excessive, sometimes not enough, or frivolously excused. My observance of the festivals has been only occasional. My self-examination has not been accurate—at least it has often been careless, and often again diseased and scrupulous. I have often been puffed up with and misled by vanity, which still clings closely to me. I have become so engrossed with the

[5] The National Society is probably alluded to.

business of the hour (fit tho' it may have been), as to neglect other duties, and especially those towards my relations and friends. Travelling, as to Scotland, and business, *as of the railroad*, have both much unsettled me. Ambition has often crossed me. Indolence has made me selfish. Covetousness of books has led me to things it ought not to have done. Deep humility I fear I have felt little.

[He goes on to pass in review the blessings which he enjoyed at the time, and mentions among other things—]

My mother's well-being and comfort at Barnes; the many opportunities of prayer and communion, and also of good works generally; George's return to Parliament; my own health, leisure, means, and provision of all necessary things; the advantages of Merton College; the valuable friendships I have formed; the prospects of future usefulness; the blessed quietness of mind which I now enjoy—how different were the Prodigal's husks!

The above will show that last year's resolutions, or rather hopes, must again be those of this. If any of them have been partially fulfilled—some of them, I fear (aye most), are not farther than they were. I have been, it is true, more conversant with outward exertion than when they were formed, and shall be so again; but into this year's list they must enter, and at the end of it (if it run out) an account must be given of them; and to them add—

1. Consideration of my social duties.
2. Great distrust of my own steadfastness where vanity is concerned.
3. Sobriety in every pursuit.
4. The appropriation of fit times for meditation.
5. The formation of strict rules, should I obtain occupation as a lawyer.

Among the churches at which he mentions in the diary having received Holy Communion in 1838, besides those noticed on a preceding page, Mr. R. Anderson's Chapel at Brighton is named once or twice; South

Audley Street Chapel once ; St. Mary's, Oxford, as before, frequently ; and on Oct. 9, being first day of Term, *Latin Litany, sermon, and Holy Communion*, at the same church.[6] The 'Latin Litany' was a favourite 'devotion' among the Tractarians, whenever the opportunity occurred ; and some may recall a sonnet of Father Faber's on the subject, beginning

O sweet, most sweet and penitential sound.

[6] See ch. ix. J. R. H. to Mr. Gladstone, Oct. 11, 1838.

CHAPTER VII.

1838.

Proposed Reform of Merton College—Report of J. R. Hope on that Subject—His Proposed Work on the History of Colleges—Scruples about his Profession—Remonstrances of Mr. Badeley—Character of the Early Stage of Mr. Hope's Legal Career.

In describing a life of such manifold activity as that of Mr. Hope, a biographer need scarcely apologise for having frequently, in appearance, to retrace his steps, going back upon periods which seem to have been completed. This is inevitable, when several distinct pursuits, simultaneously carried on, come before us for review. Life is often compared to a battle, and not the least striking of their analogies is the manner in which events so various as to seem remote from each other coincide in time, and bear upon the same issues. An example of this is furnished in the leading part taken by Mr. Hope, I suppose through many months of this busy year 1838, in preparing the way for an attempt of the society of Merton College to reform itself in the spirit of its statutes, which with the change of manners had been a good deal lost sight of. For this purpose he was appointed by the Warden and Fellows on a committee to examine and report on those statutes, on the college charters, and other similar muniments in their possession. The task was not a slight one, as the origin of the college goes back far into the Middle Ages.

Its Founder, as is well known to those who take an interest in such matters, was Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Chancellor of England in the thirteenth century; and the college was an expansion of the older foundation of Merton Priory in Surrey, ceded to the same prelate for that purpose by Richard, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III.

Mr. Hope's Report, which is an extremely elaborate one, works out one great and simple idea, namely, that the main object of the Founder was to make his college a means of increasing the interests and the efficiency of the Church. A series of extracts from the ancient collegiate instruments abundantly proved this; and certain resolutions were proposed with the view of reviving, so far as was possible under existing circumstances, the intentions on which the great and venerable establishment had been based, and which had been committed to the consciences of those who enjoyed its benefits, by whosesoever fault those intentions had fallen into abeyance. It was accordingly suggested that a number not exceeding five of the Fellows should be bound to devote themselves to the study of the civil and canon laws now in force in this kingdom, and such other branches of jurisprudence as they might prefer; and that the rest should take orders and be subjected to a much stricter system, as to study, residence, and collegiate discipline, than had for generations back been the custom at Merton. After sufficient training and graduation in arts, they were to apply themselves to theology, and to give proof of their proficiency by essays to be periodically delivered in the College-hall. One

member of the society was to be what the Founder styled *Grammaticus*, that is, an officer corresponding to the modern college tutor, and charged with the instruction of the juniors in the arts department. Mr. Hope's view seems to have been that upon this new, or rather restored scheme of government, the college might become a kind of seed-plot for furnishing clergy likely to be of use in the Anglican Church generally, as well as in the livings which were attached to Merton College itself. Some extracts from the latter portion of this Report, added in Mr. Hope's own hand, will afford an interesting idea of the lofty spirit which the youthful reformer had brought to the study of his college statutes, and which had also been reacted upon and intensified by them.

Draft Report.

. . . Your committee therefore hasten to wind up this necessarily detailed and tedious report; and in so doing they submit to the college that if the views which have been put forward in it be correct, they ought to be at once, and cordially, acted on; for it is hardly possible to state more serious obligations than those by which the members of the college are bound to obey the will of their Founder. It is the Common Law of the land that they should do so in the minutest manner [see Lord Holt's Judgment in 'Philipps and Bury,' 27 R. 350]; it is the more liberal, but not less direct provision of Queen Mary's Act, that they shall do so 'according to their power, as much as in them shall lie for to do;' it is the condition of their existence as a corporation, and constitutes their only title to their land; it is required by the principles of honour, gratitude, and piety; and, to sum up all, it is that to which every member of the college, each for himself, is most solemnly and expressly sworn.

The objection that the essential character of the institution is now obsolete and useless may sound plausible in the mouth of those who, having the legal, wish also to prove their possession of the moral right to interfere with it; but such language, however suited to the Founder's Constitutional Governors, very ill becomes the Founder's almsmen and dependents—they should have thought of it before they became partakers of his bounty, and, by an oath, resigned their independence into his hands. But even if it were urged by those who are free to use it if they please, an answer would not be very difficult to find; for, in the first place, unless it be positively hurtful it is a new and strange plea for interfering with a man's private charity, that it is not as useful as some people think it might be made; and, in the next, it would be hard to prove how the Church, for whose advantage it is designed, could in these days be more effectually assisted than by an institution in which her clergy may become deeply learned—not in those branches which were in request only when she supplied the kingdom with statesmen and judges, when she had temporal as well as spiritual dominions to govern—but in her own peculiar and abiding science of Theology; an institution, moreover, by which many of her poorer benefices may be adequately supplied with ministers, and through which her worldly interests may be strengthened and defended, by maintaining in strict allegiance to her a body of laymen conversant with the usages of society, and skilled in all those laws to which, in her political and civil capacity, she is amenable.

With regard to the present condition of the college, your committee is well aware that what is reprehensible in it is not to be attributed either to the existing or to the previous generation; the abuses have probably been of slow and gradual growth, and perhaps might eventually be traced to the violent disorders caused in most colleges by the Reformation. Small deviations have made way for greater, the dispensation has become the enactment, the exception the rule; and thus Archbishop Peckham's admonition, 'ne parvus error in principio intolerabilis sit in fine,' by being neglected as a warning, has

at length, after 500 years, come near to be accomplished as a prophecy. But though the customs and traditions of their predecessors may well serve to exculpate men as long as they have no reason to doubt the accordance between these and their acknowledged and supreme rule of conduct, the case becomes different as soon as it is known that the latter has been set aside by the former; and, therefore, however we may say of the past that it was done honestly and sincerely, we have no such plea to urge for the future, and unless we set ourselves steadfastly to secure in the next generation that conformity to the statutes which preceding times have denied to our own, we shall be chargeable with wilfully continuing an abuse the guilt of which we can no otherwise escape than by showing that we have neither originated, nor, knowingly, maintained it.

There can be but one opinion as to the high principle and breadth of view which pervades this powerfully-written summary. Of Mr. Hope it might have been said, as of a very different personage: *Ce jeune homme ira loin, car il croit tout ce qu'il dit.* The judgment to be formed on the moral question involved of course does not belong to his biographer; yet it can hardly be passed without a remark. The obligation of statutes made in Catholic times on those benefiting by them under very different circumstances, perhaps weighs on the consciences of the present day at Oxford no more than it did on those of the last century, especially after several new *strata* of changes. Yet a difficulty there is, and for every such difficulty there must be a remedy. Protestantism finds one in public opinion and in State-legislation; whilst Catholics would have recourse to a final and infallible appeal which can alone set consciences at rest. Mr. Hope's own mind, though his well-meant re-

forms were to a certain extent adopted by the society —the draft resolutions were passed, with some amendments, in April 1839 [1]—was, as we shall see presently, powerfully influenced in the direction of Catholicism by the investigations he had now made into the mediæval collegiate system he and his brethren had inherited, and which researches, extending them to other colleges and to the University in general, he carried on with great ardour for some years after this date. Indeed he contemplated an extensive work on the 'History of Colleges,' which from about this period is frequently alluded to in his correspondence. I find that Mr. Roundell Palmer, now Earl of Selborne, was associated with him in this undertaking, which was never completed, the design being probably rendered impracticable by the vast professional labours in which both the friends became early engaged. One great and practical result, however, his own Church reaped from these unfinished labours: it cannot be doubted that the foundation of Trinity College, Glenalmond, was due in great measure to the hold which the subject of academical organisation had gained over the mind of Mr. Hope; and the great opportunity also upon which depended his early and splendid success in pleading before the House of Lords, may probably be referred, though indirectly, to the same cause.

The Draft Report which has just been described is not dated, but I believe it to have been drawn up about

[1] Sir Francis Palgrave, in a letter to Mr. Hope, dated 'Chapter House, Poet's Corner: November 21, 1839,' writes: 'I hear you have been doing wonders in your college. It is a great thing to have sown the seed, but unless the University, as a body, takes some decisive steps, little good will be effected.'

the Michaelmas Term of 1838, during which Mr. Hope appears to have been in residence at Merton College for several weeks. The profound study which he thus devoted to the college statutes no doubt led to very anxious meditation on his own obligations and responsibilities with reference to them, and caused, indeed, at one time what I may call 'a magnetic storm' of distress of conscience, little less overwhelming than those which, at earlier periods, led him to resolve on passing from the legal profession to the ecclesiastical. There are deep traces of this last conflict to be obtained from a letter addressed to him on the subject by his devoted friend Mr. Badeley, and which in various ways illustrates so instructively the character of their friendship, that, though rather lengthy, it cannot fail to be read with attention and interest.

E. Badeley, Esq. to James R. Hope, Esq.

Temple: November 5.

My dear Hope,—I certainly should have thought that so earnest a request as that which I made this morning for so small a matter as the postponement for a few hours of your answer to the solicitors might have been accorded. But let this pass. My object in asking the favour was that I might have the satisfaction of feeling that before such a step was taken I had said what I have long intended to say to you on the subject of your profession. For you need not regret the disclosure of what you confided to me to-day as the cause of reference to such matters. I should have opened upon them at all events, and if I had not found an occasion I should have made one. Not that I have any real hope of influencing you, for past experience has taught me how very little any arguments avail when your mind is made up—and I fear from your words and your manner that this is the case in this instance.

But still friendship requires a few words. I cannot see you take what I think on the whole a false step in life without an endeavour to prevent you, though probably at the risk of being regarded a mere well-meaning fool for my pains. I could have wished to talk the matter quietly over with you, and to have heard more explicitly than I have yet done your reasons for renouncing your profession—but this you have refused, and therefore I have no alternative but writing. Your resolution is to me, as it is to others who take a great interest about you, a source of deep regret, for I cannot but feel in common with them that the time may come when you will in vain repent it. Your income may be, as you say it is, adequate to your wants at this time, but are you equally sure that it will always remain so? Are not the contingencies of sickness at least, if not of age, to be provided for, when many expenses which are now superfluous will be absolutely necessary? To call such forethought a distrust of Providence would be absurd, for neither Scripture nor its interpreters have so pronounced it. On the contrary, a neglect to avail yourself of the means which are bountifully afforded you of preparing against such dangers and difficulties as the ordinary course of events may lead you to expect is more like a tempting of Providence; of pleasures and luxuries I say nothing—a man must judge for himself how far he will make sacrifices to obtain them. I speak merely of wants and necessities, the consideration of which common prudence dictates. I should have thought, indeed, that to any person, and particularly to one with feelings like your own, the facilities and emoluments of your profession would afford, for the encouragement and advancement of many objects of utility or charity, would have formed a strong inducement to engage, to some extent at least, in such a vocation. 'To labour, working the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth,' is an inspired precept, and surely the pursuit of superfluities with such a view is laudable as well as satisfactory.

But, independently of pecuniary considerations, the devotion, if not too deep, to the regular routine of professional duties, is,

I am satisfied, a great source of happiness; and I have never yet heard any person of active mind, who, in a position similar to your own, has declined or abandoned a profession, speak of his choice on the retrospect without more or less regret. My own opinion decidedly is, that the influence of one like yourself, the force of his good example, and the practical effect of his principles are much more extensive and much deeper when illustrated in the exercise of a particular calling than when they are exhibited without one. To how many thousands has the conduct of such a man as Hale given stability and encouragement, and how much more valuable are the virtues of such a man when they show that in a profession, which is not thought to have much concern with religion, the practical influence of Christian principles may be daily developed. I really do believe that by betaking yourself to such a course, with the determination which I know you would have of giving full scope to your own serious views and feelings, your opinions and your example would carry much greater weight and have an infinitely better effect. Nor, after all, need your engagements in your profession absorb all your time and attention. You may give yourself to matters of higher interest or importance when they presented themselves, and be a *professional man* without being a '*slave* to your profession.' As it is, you abjure your profession, and by refusing the practice which you have, you put yourself out of the way of having as much as you might like. You hinted to-day at your want of preparation and inability to undertake business, but you surely need not be afraid of being overrun with it at once, and with the education you have had, and the knowledge you have acquired, a very little labour would enable you to do what would be requisite in a proper manner. Any scruples of conscience respecting the nature of the business which might be brought to you I do not imagine you need feel, for you surely might hold yourself quite independent of such matters as would annoy you; and many whom I could name, whose consciences are equally sensitive with your own, find that on this head there is no just cause for alarm. There is, indeed, such a thing as a

morbid sensitiveness of conscience, as I remember that I was well reminded by one whose opinion I deservedly respected, when, at the commencement of my career, I expressed such apprehensions—and my experience has convinced me of the truth of this. Why, then, should you not engage in conveyancing, or such like business, and take what might be compatible with other avocations which you would not choose to abandon? Why not thus satisfy the wishes of your family, extend your sphere of usefulness, and (as I believe I might add) increase your own ultimate enjoyment? From what you once stated to me, I know you consider yourself '*retained*,' if I may so speak, in the service of your college, and, if engaging in law at all, bound to such a course of it as shall apply more particularly to the interests of the college and the Church. With this view you hinted at the possibility of devoting yourself to the Ecclesiastical Courts—and if this is your line perhaps it is well. But at the same time, considering how much more the practice of the Court of Chancery is concerned with matters directly and indirectly relating to colleges, and how many even of the things which materially concern the interests of the Church are continually brought before the Courts of Equity, I cannot help thinking that you will find yourself, with the knowledge of Chancery Law, a much more efficient adviser for your own or any other college, and for the University, than entering the Ecclesiastical Courts. After all, is there not *some lurking indisposition to a regular settled course* of occupation, and might not a fair trial be at least worth the making? Your book, on which you are now engaged is, of course, a merely temporary concern; when that is done, surely such an experiment as I have suggested will be valuable, if not almost necessary. Many of your friends seem to wonder, not only at what you are doing, but at what you are going to do; and though to me, from knowing my feeling for you, and that, to a certain extent at least, I enjoy your confidence, they do not make many remarks or ask many questions, I can see that they have a latent notion that all is not right, that you are placing yourself in a somewhat false position, and by withdrawing yourself from occupations of a more fixed and definite kind, are

perhaps forming theories of speculative utility, or putting yourself out of the reach of those things which might ultimately best serve both yourself and society.

Under all these circumstances, and feeling for you the most entire affection that one friend can entertain for another, I have for some time been intending thus to open my heart to you. I am aware that much, if not all that I have said, may appear irksome, if not utterly worthless. As you told me to-day that your purpose has been long settled, I can scarcely anticipate that you will pay the least attention to anything I have ventured to express. Perhaps in this, as in other matters, it would be more for the happiness of yourself and those around you if your resolutions were formed, I will not say with less determination, but with more deliberation and reliance on the opinions of others. But this is not for me to dictate, and I am willing to hope that you will at least give me credit for the motive which has prompted me to say thus much. If I cared less for you I should have been silent, but I should not have satisfied either my heart or my conscience if I had not once for all expressed this. Forgive me if I have either teased you or gone beyond the line which strict propriety would have drawn; the subject is one of moment to you, and the beneficial influence which your friendship has had upon me (for I can safely say that no person ever had an equal influence with me) makes the suggestion of this conscientious advice in some measure a debt of gratitude. And now I will close the letter and the subject; you need not fear that I will worry you further; and it is only from a very strong sense of positive duty, as well as of esteem and affection for you, that, after what you said this morning, I could have presumed thus far. It will be a satisfaction to me to know, at least, that you have waded thro' my letter; and from the hasty way in which I have been compelled to put my thoughts on paper, tho' they have been long in my mind, I fear it has many claims to your indulgence, independently of its subject. That God may ever guide, protect, and bless you is the hearty prayer of your most attached friend,

E. BADELEY.

Mr. Hope's reply to this very striking letter,[2] if ever he made one, does not appear to have been preserved; and nothing further has been found to illustrate the struggle to which it witnesses. Whether Mr. Badeley's reasonings, after all, had greater influence with him than the writer anticipated, cannot now be known. He did not abandon his profession, but it is observable that for several years after this date his pursuit of it was prevailingly guided and governed by his almost haunting sense of his duty to the Anglican Church as a Fellow of Merton.[3] This is shown by the nature of the pleadings that first made him famous, as well as by the frequent and long-continued interruptions that he allowed to draw him off from that assiduous professional application we are accustomed to think essential to great success. Indeed, perhaps the purely secular practice in which he became so celebrated only began to absorb him about the period when his confidence in Anglicanism had abated, and a movement towards Rome had begun to be traceable in his mind. The time, however, which we are now considering was the very acme of his devotion to Anglicanism in its Tractarian aspect.

[2] The date of this letter of Mr. Badeley's (November 5) is incomplete, but, on the whole, I should assign it to the year 1837, two or three months previous to Mr. Hope's call to the Bar. Compare pp. 143 and 115. With reference to Mr. Hope's vacillation on the choice of a profession, it must be remembered that he was a very young man at its earliest stage, and only twenty-five at its latest.

[3] 'Some time later (writes Mr. Gladstone) he told me his ordinary professional work would be his kitchen-garden, and his college and church-work his flower-garden—the first was to feed the last.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1838.

Mr. Hope's Correspondence with the Thun Family—With Count Leo Thun on the Proofs of Revelation—With Mr. Gladstone on the latter's Treatise on the 'State in its Relations with the Church'—Mr. Hope Visits the Tomb of Walter de Merton.

THE correspondence of Mr. Hope with different members of the Thun family, alluded to in an early chapter of this memoir, was being actively carried on at the period now before us, and would alone fill a small volume, yet I can hardly do more than indicate its nature generally. Of the three brothers, as I have already said, Count Frederic Thun (then Austrian attaché at the Hague) was Mr. Hope's most intimate friend, and his letters have all that thoroughly unreserved and confidential character which the epistolary intercourse of early life so often presents. Those of Count Leo's enter largely into serious discussion, theological and political: indeed, one letter of his, dated 'Tetschen, July 1838,' in reply to a letter of Mr. Hope's of no less distant date than April 6 of the preceding year, is a regular treatise on the subject of the proofs of revelation. Theological circles in Germany appear to have been excited at the time by a work of Bolzano's on this subject (condemned at Rome). Mr. Hope's side in the correspondence, if extant, has not come within my reach, so that I can only collect from

his friend's share in the controversy the direction which the thoughts of the former had taken. On the question whether the reasonableness and moral advantage of a doctrine could be taken as the test of the credibility of a miracle, both generally and as between the Catholic and Protestant Churches, Mr. Hope had argued that this investigation was impossible; evidently following Butler's principle: 'It is self-evident that the objections of an incompetent judgment must be frivolous.'[1] He had also contended that '*das summum bonum* ist DAS Kennzeichen der absoluten Wahrheit' (that the *summum bonum* is *the* test of absolute truth), which his friend only admitted as *one* of the proofs. We see, therefore, that Mr. Hope was already in contact with Catholicism, and even the bosom friend of Catholics; yet it is curious that his Catholic tendencies can hardly be said, so far, to have been much affected by this circumstance, and it would be perhaps nearer the truth to say that he influenced his Continental friends of his own age at the time considerably more than they influenced him.

From another branch of his correspondence I am thankful to be enabled to draw somewhat copiously, especially as it includes another of those great bye-works which abounded so much throughout his life, and consisted in some kind office or other undertaken to oblige a friend. Mr. Gladstone, who was now approaching the completion of his treatise on the 'State in its Relations with the Church' had submitted his MS. to the advice and judgment of Mr. Hope, who devoted great attention to this task, and also saw the work through

[1] *Analogy*, Part II. ch. iii.

the press whilst Mr. Gladstone was absent in Italy during the autumn of 1838. The correspondence of the two friends on this subject enters minutely into many details which cannot properly be mastered without the study of the volume to which they refer, and which may even be thought to belong to times and questions already too remote to need reproducing except in their general effect. The reader, however, will not be likely to think the following extracts from it too voluminous, considering the living celebrity of the great statesman and scholar to whose early work they refer, as well as the light they throw on the thoughts and position held at the time by the subject of this memoir, and also on his intellectual character as capable of bringing its whole force to bear upon a difficult matter, notwithstanding the great interior strain we have seen that it was then undergoing.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to J. R. Hope, Esq.

House of Commons: July 18, 1838.

My dear Hope,— . . . I hope in a day or two to get my colonial information sufficiently in form, and then to send you my whole papers. If you let them lie just as they are, turning the leaves one by one, I think you will not find the manuscript very difficult to make out, though it is strangely cut in pieces and patched. I have divided it all through into *sectiuncules*, occupying generally from half a page to a whole one.

I hope that its general tendency will meet your approval; but a point about which I am in great doubt, and to which I request your particular attention is, whether either the work or some of the chapters are not so deficient in clearness and arrangement as to require being absolutely re-written before they can with propriety be published? Making allowance for any obscurity which may arise from its *physical* state as a MS., I

hope you will look rigorously at it in this point of view, and tell me what you think is the amount of the disease, and the proper kind of remedy. I can excuse myself, considering the pressure of other engagements, for having written irregularly and confusedly upon a subject very new in many of its parts, and requiring some abstraction—(at every turn it has brought home the truth of Bacon's observation, that politics are of all sciences the most immersed in matter,—one has to go on detaching as it were soul from clay all the way through)—but I should be inexcusable if I were to *publish* in such a state: between my eyes and my business I fear it would be hard for me to re-write, but if I could put it into the hands of any other person who could, and who would extract from my papers anything worth having, that might do. I wish very much that something should be published by somebody on the subject, and that speedily, to begin to draw attention to a subject on which men's minds are so sadly undisciplined. When set in motion, the ball will roll, as I anticipate.

As regards myself, if I go on and publish, I shall be quite prepared to find some persons surprised, but this, if it should prove so, cannot be helped; I have not knowingly exaggerated anything; and when a man expects to be washed overboard, he must tie himself with a rope to the mast.

I shall trust to your friendship for *frankness* in the discharge of your irksome task. Pray *make* verbal corrections without scruple where they are needed.—Sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

July 21, 1838.

My dear Hope,—Behold your rashness!

Please read Nos. II., V., and VI. first. These, with VIII., are, I think, the most important, and it is about these that I am in great fear and doubt whether they may not require re-writing; as, however, we read that chopping up old somebody made him young, I have some hope for my unfortunate papers, which you will find have pretty well undergone that operation. Mind to turn the leaves as they lie.—Ever yours,

W. E. G.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

Private. Travellers' Club: July 26, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—My time was not so much at my disposal yesterday as I had hoped it would be, and I have made less progress accordingly. I have, however, managed to read the *first two* parts. The first for my own satisfaction, the second with the view which you suggested to me in its perusal. Of the first, I need say nothing now but that I agree with you as to the desirableness of stopping Churchmen from hasty acts with reference to the State. The second I have read through with considerable attention, and have used my pencil very unscrupulously. The opinion which I have formed of it is, that it contains a valuable argument in many parts clearly and beautifully stated—but in others not enough wrought out to act on the whole in such order as to make it fair either to yourself or your subject to publish it precisely as it stands. At the same time, I think the labour for completing it will not be great (I speak of the second part alone), and that it will be extremely well bestowed. Indeed, the defects are such as must almost necessarily occur when a great subject is handled piecemeal and at intervals; and I should recommend, with a view to remedying them, that you procure the whole to be copied out in a good legible hand, with blank pages, and that you read it through in this shape once connectedly, with a view to the whole argument, and again with a view to examining the structure of each part. This task you will perhaps think irksome, but remember you are throwing down the gauntlet to many who will be too ready to pick it up, and that you should therefore try your weapons well before you provoke them. The copying I can get done for you in a very short space of time by the law stationers, and you might take the MS. abroad with you.

I abstain from detail, as it is needless to rush into that just now, and only beg that you will not conclude anything from what I have said which is inconsistent with my thinking what I have read of your papers excessively valuable. It is in fact

because I am jealous of their meeting with any hindrance that I speak as I do.—Yours ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to J. R. Hope, Esq.

6 Carlton Gardens: July 26, 1838.

My dear Hope,—I thank you most cordially for your remarks, and I rejoice to find that you act so entirely in the spirit I had anticipated. I trust you will continue to speak with freedom, which is the best compliment as well as the best service you can render me.

I am now likely not to go to Ems, but to have some weeks in this country, which I should wish to employ without any loss of time in going to work as you direct. . . As I said before, I think it very probable that you may find that V. and VI. require quite as vigorous treatment as II., and I am very desirous to set both my mind and eyes at liberty before I go to the Continent, which I can now hardly expect to do before the first week in September. This interval I trust would suffice—unless you find that the other chapters stand in equal need.

Mahon suggested as a title: 'Church and State considered in their connection.' The defect of this is that I do not *much* consider the Church in its connection with the State, though partially I do; but it gave me the idea of a modification which I think may do; 'The State viewed in its connection with the Church.'

I entirely concur with your view regarding the necessity of care, and of not grudging labour in a matter so important and so responsible as an endeavour to raise one of the most momentous controversies which has ever agitated human opinion.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

6 Stone Buildings: July 26, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—. . . I now send Part II. as you desire, and am very glad that you are able to give it immediate attention. You will find my pencil-marks just as I put them down

in reading it through; many of them, I fear, will be unintelligible to you; many will appear impertinent; but they may all be remedied by a piece of india-rubber; and I have certainly put some of them with little expectation of their meeting any other fate, since they relate to matters of individual taste only. . . .

What I would suggest you should immediately do is to make an abstract of the argument, as you will then best see how the parts of it are arranged. The form you have chosen has an appearance of logical strictness which, as it belongs undoubtedly to the substance, should also be carried as far as possible into the details of your paper. And, in doing so, I think you will find it desirable to enlarge your first proposition of the argument to connect some of the reasoning more directly with it as a head; and also to omit or postpone some passages (e.g. that relating to the permanent character of Church forms is interrupting the direct tenor of your proof). I think you will also be disposed to reserve all mention of the Church as the society to be adopted until you have proved your position in its antecedent parts upon general religious grounds alone. In this way it would first occur at the end of sect. 64, where you will see a rough alteration of your text.

What say you to the word 'Relation' instead of 'Connection'? In our old writers it means something more deep than mere connection; something which belongs to the name and essence of the thing connected but perhaps this meaning may not be fully given to it in these days

Yours ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

6 Stone Buildings: July 28, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—I have endeavoured, but without success, to get through No. V. to-day. I have been headachy and stupid, but besides that, the nature of the subject affords reason for my failure. It is in fact, to me a far more difficult field than that occupied in No. II., where the argument is abstract and consecutive. Here you have a wide range, and consequently

more discretion to exercise. Besides which, there is a more copious reference to facts, and those amongst the most difficult to handle of any that I know. In short I should be sorry to offer any opinion even upon what I have read of it (which is to the end of sect. 27) without having another day at it.

. . . In the meantime I think it may be worth your while just to glance through 'Palmer on the Church,' which I will procure to be sent to you this evening. You will easily see whether there is anything in it which will help you. I certainly think you should not publish upon this particular part of your subject without examining it, though I am not prepared to say that it will afford direct assistance.

Yours ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

Rochester: Sunday, July 29, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—I have accomplished my pilgrimage to the Tomb of Walter de Merton—a priest-lawyer, a political bishop, a believer in many things which we rightly reject—and yet with all this a man in whose character, great ability and much experience of the world and its high places were combined with a thoughtful, pious, gentle and munificent temper, such as we in our days of light—'light without love'[2]—seldom find even in the quietest paths of life. Thrice Chancellor of England, and thrice a benefactor of holy institutions; the framer of judicial writs; the founder of an hospital and of a college, and the endower of a cathedral.

Have, anima eximia! would that I could add: *forsan et huic sæclo exemplo futura!* With such a character before me one may be permitted for a moment to regret that the system has passed away in which men learnt self-discipline in the convent before they came to use power in the world; when faith, though nourished upon coarse food, was strong enough to cope with ambition and the pride of life, and to overcome them; when celibacy, instead of being merely the forerunner of a selfish

[2] *The Christian Year*: Advent Sunday.

old age—itself perhaps the fruit of early disappointment—was the channel by which men's thoughts were turned to higher contemplations and to a desire of impressing upon the principles and pursuits which they revered that character of perpetuity which the father of a family endeavours to transmit to his (perhaps) worthless descendants. But while I remember Merton, I must not forget Wolsey, and so I will bring my rhapsody to an end, and merely tell you what I ought to have said at first—viz. that I intend to be in town (D.V.) by about 12 o'clock to-morrow, and that if you will send your MS. to my chambers I will at once take it up.

Yours ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

I here interrupt the series of selections from this division of Mr. Hope's correspondence, to quote an entry from his journal of the same date as the above letter:—

July 29, 1838, *7th Sunday after Trinity.*—Spent the day at Rochester, whither I went with Badeley, to see the tomb of Walter de Merton, my founder. Resolved, with God's help, to continue my endeavours to restore his college to the condition (as far as circumstances will admit) in which he designed it to be, and to cherish a grateful remembrance of the benefits which I and many others, both of his own and other colleges, directly or indirectly derive from his bounty.

In memoria æterna erit justus—
Ab auditu mali non timebit.

Domine Deus, qui semper es laudandus tam in viventibus quam in defunctis, agimus tibi gratias pro fundatore nostro Waltero de Merton, cæterisque benefactoribus nostris, quorum beneficiis ad pietatem et studia litterarum alimur. Rogantes ut nos his donis ad tuam gloriam recte utentes, una cum illis ad gloriam immortalem perducamur, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen, Amen.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to J. R. Hope, Esq.

6 Carlton Gardens: July 30 [1838].

My dear Hope,—Thanks for your letter. I have been pretty hard at work, and have done a good deal, especially on V. Something yet remains. I must make inquiry about the law of excommunication . . . I had made a very stupid classification, and have now amended it; instead of faith, discipline, and practice, what I meant was, the rule of faith, discipline, and the bearing of particular doctrines upon practice. . . .

Your eulogy on W. de Merton is worthy of the writer, and I do not doubt of the object. But I have no time to say more.

Yours sincerely,
W. E. G.

I send back also I. and II. that you may see what I have done.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

6 Stone Buildings: July 31, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—Your alterations on No. II. do away nearly all my criticisms; still, I cannot help remarking that I think the allusion to the *national personality* in sect. 9 is premature, since it seems rather to belong to the argument in sects. 19, &c., than to this one. I should also be disposed to put sects. 19, &c. next to sect. 9 before proceeding to the illustrations in the intermediate sections. One word more; in reading your quotations from Burn in sect. 9 over again, it seems to me not worthy its position, as it expresses the truth too vaguely for your immediate purpose.

You mentioned yesterday that you wanted to know more of the Law of Excommunication—if in the English Church, Burn will supply all you want; if in the Roman, Ferrari. I send you a volume of each.

Yours very truly,
JAMES R. HOPE.

(No. V.)

6 Stone Buildings: July 31, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—I put my observations on this Book by themselves, partly because your MSS. are to pass into other hands, partly because (like a surgeon who has a difficult operation to perform) I am anxious to have the patient stretched upon my own table. Not, after all, that my cuttings are to be deeper than on No. II., but that they touch more sensitive parts. There, the alterations were pointed out by the argument itself, being necessary to its continuity—here, they depend upon individual discretion. But to go to work.

1st. As to General Construction.

a. I think that too much space is given to the sensualising tendencies of Romanism, which the majority of your readers will probably be fully persuaded of beforehand.

b. That too little is afforded for the consideration of the Rule of Faith, which the same majority will probably be very ignorant of.

c. That the subject would be treated in better order if the sections from 57 to near the end of 66 (word 'apostles' inclusive) followed after sect. 40; the discussion on the Rule of Faith being kept till the end.

2nd. As to the Details.

Sect. 1. Either omit 'as a reaction from previous opposite abuse,' or add something as to the immediate circumstances which drove many of the Reformers to the use of private judgment; otherwise it is no summary. . . .

Sect. 10. I cannot quite agree with the view here taken of mere reception of doctrine. That when there is a variety of teaching, such as that pointed out in I. John iv. 1 it is essential to know why we prefer one doctrine to another, I readily allow. But I think that in the deep peace of the Church (such as prevailed during many centuries of Romanism), when one creed only is presented to the mind of the believer, and gradually brought into all his thoughts by early association, it

is going too far to call his faith 'idle acquiescence,' or to speak of truth as being swallowed by him without being tasted. Surely, the undoubting Rock-like faith of a mind in which no question has ever arisen, which would as soon think of proving the existence of external nature as of the doctrine in which it was brought up, comes very near to the temper of 'little children,' which is enjoined to us. And then, again, it is not the mind only which tastes truth. The doing of God's commandments is a way of knowing them, and thus holiness would, to many, be as active a witness as mental investigation.

(12) This section is to me not quite clear. What does discipline include? The whole of Church polity in one sense; the relations between the Governing and the Governed members of the Church in another. It is in the latter I think that you here use it; but can you in either say that religious principle and duty are generally not involved in it? . . .

(24) There are surely many men and still more women, short of holiness, who yet lived and died very piously in the R. C. Church. If you make any exception in favour of those who actually avoided the evils of Romanism, it must be a larger and more indefinite one; but perhaps you had better adhere to the tendencies of the doctrine. I add that I have some Bohemian R. C. friends of rank who all (men included), at least the young men, are in the habit of auricular confession. Indeed, I should doubt your position as regards R. Catholics professing any degree of seriousness. As to the careless, I fear more sacred things might, among ourselves, fall into disrepute by this rule.

(27) Qy. Is it not speaking broadly to say that a General Council is ground 'absolutely belonging to Romanism'?

(29) Qy. What is meant by the Southern Church?

(32) Is not this substitution of the means for the end in strict analogy with the whole history of unjustly acquired freedom? Look to the Republicanism of the United States, and in short to the history of all States which have acquired liberty by rebellion, rebellion either by the sword, or by civil agitation.

(40) Would it not be well to add here the testimony of some of our earlier divines, which you will find amply given in the 'Catena Patrum,' which was first published in the 'Tracts for the Times,' and afterwards was appended to the second edition of Keble's 'Sermon'? [see *ante*, p. 113]. Many will see these things in your book who are not at all likely to meet with them in their usual place—I mean among theological studies. And this last observation I think so important, that I venture to graft on it a proposal that you should considerably remodel and expand that portion of your argument which may be called a Defence of Catholic Tradition, so that unlearned readers may both know what it is, and why it is recommended.

. . . . . .

(46) Even mathematics require qualifications in a student to perceive their certainty. A child or an unlearned man cannot demonstrate a problem or follow its demonstration. And yet the faculties here have not been perverted, they are only dormant. If the fall of man had affected us in regard to mathematics as it has in regard to moral truth, we should need as much discipline in regard to unity of ideas on the former as on the latter. In the thirteenth century, when men's intellects were indulged in all sorts of speculations and dicussions, there were *heresies* in grammar and logic as well as in theology. Archbishop Peckham (amongst others) had at Oxford to restrain the doctrine that 'Ego currit' was as good Latin as 'Ego curro.' Anth. à Wood, *Annals*, an. 1284.

(48, &c.) As to exercise of the intellect, I think you make it too analogous to progress in secular science. 'At the end of 48, I think you truly describe the 'appropriating' province of private judgment; but I think that generally you do not dwell enough on the reception of truth by means of education in the first place, and upon trust, previous to the action of the intellect in proving and supporting what it has learned. Even this latter function I should be sorry to prescribe to the mass in the light of a test to be applied to each individual doctrine, otherwise than as each in turn may receive support from a general and prayerful reading of Scripture. With Theo-

logians of course the case is otherwise, but happily we are not all designed for that office, though it is true that if the clergy be supine, it falls much more generally on the laity.

(57) Which, with all up to 66, is to travel back to 40 [and] is, I think, rather obscurely put.

(59) I think should be expanded a little. Reaction from R. C. abuses belongs to this place, at least cursorily.

(Do.) Puritanical doctrines introduced by the clergy placed during the rebellion. Then, coming down, the *Protestant* succession in support of sympathy with Protestants. The establishment of the Kirk in Scotland. Lastly, our own plague, the want of Church education. But note, what we suffer from is not the insufficiency, but the disuse of our rule.

This, I believe, is all I have to say. You will, I fear, think that it is a good deal too much,—if so, you are to blame for having been so patient under the former infliction.

Ever yours truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

CHAPTER IX.

1838, 1839.

Correspondence with Mr. Gladstone on the 'State in its Relations with the Church' continued—Remarks on Mr. Hope's Criticism of it—Rev. B. Harrison appointed Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Mr. Hope prepares for Work 'On Colleges'—Conclusion of Mr. Hope's Criticism of Mr. Gladstone's Work: Engages to act with Mr. Gladstone—Cardinal Kilwardby and his Register—Mr. Gladstone's Thanks to Mr. Hope—J. R. Hope to Mr. Newman—Gladstone and Coleridge—The Cathedral Bill, &c.—Mr. Hope's Hard Work on Committees—Mr. Hope's First Acquaintance with Mr. Newman—'Address to Bankers, &c., of England.'

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

6 Stone Buildings: August 2, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—I have been arrested at the commencement of Part VI. by the opportunity there presented of again considering the view you take of our *duty* 'to prove all things,' and of the want of all authority in the Church to use temporal punishments, or to call on the State to apply them. I think it best therefore to set down at once and submit to you (though in a hasty form) what occurs to me on a further consideration of these points.

1st. As to private judgment. I am again struck in this part with the apparently unqualified extent to which you would have this duty run. I am aware you allude to 'capacity' as having to do with it in each individual's case, but I think you do not dwell enough upon what is meant thereby, or sufficiently distinguish the provinces into which this 'capacity,' and its consequent, this duty, must of necessity generally fall. But not to go into a lengthened explanation, I will give you a sketch of what appears to me the right Erudition of a Christian Man, and you will then see whether you differ apparently only, or

really from me; and if the latter, whether upon consideration or not.

In considering the *legitimate* character of private judgment we must look at it under *legitimate* circumstances of the Church. This is with reference to an ecclesiastical system duly constituted and in active operation. This granted, we have believing parents and communicant sponsors by whom the child is brought to the font, and on whose faith and promises, representing the faith and promises of the whole church, he is admitted to the privilege and responsibility of baptism. Of the privilege we need say nothing—of the responsibility that it involves, the fulfilment of those promises upon which the privilege was obtained—and of the promises that one of them was directed especially at the Apostles' Creed, the adoption and maintenance of which it rendered solemnly obligatory upon the child baptised.

The Christian child, then, is thus from his baptism pledged to a particular belief—this belief is portion of a condition under which he immediately receives the help of God's grace and the remission of his original guilt. To speak of the absence of any right in others thus to forestall the free will of a child goes to the whole analogy of God's dealing in respect of the power given by Him to one of His creatures over another, and at any rate need not be drawn in here. Being thus pledged, then what are the ulterior steps in his Christian course? Plainly, in the first instance, those who have pledged him being for the present solely bound for him, and required to take all the steps in their power that they shall in nothing break their trust; to this end they must begin as soon as possible to occupy his mind with religious truth. He must know no prayer or creed different from those by the use and possession of which his regeneration was obtained. But continually, as his mind becomes more capable of knowledge must it be supplied with that which from the first it had implicitly assented to. And thus gradually the whole truth necessary to the communion of the Church will be supplied, and the responsibility, before divided, will gradually be concentrated upon the individual

himself. Still, his education must for some time be in the hands of others, and they, as long as it is their duty to teach, will do so in the same strain, but with this difference as the pupil advances—viz. that they will, besides the positive teaching of childhood, add the explanatory, illustrative, and corroborative teaching proper to youth; so that when he leaves their hands he will be found possessed of that truth which he swore at his baptism to avow, and with it of a body of evidence in support of it, gradually accumulated he knows not how, but deeply rooted into the whole frame of his understanding. The nature of this evidence will of course be very various in various circumstances; but whatever these be, if the Church's first and chief duty of education have not been neglected, it will amount pretty much to the same as that by which the facts usually, and as of course admitted by us, are supported.

And now we go into the world—one to his plough, another to his loom, a third to the law-courts, a fourth to politics, a fifth to the ministry of the Church, the care and nurture of souls. Each, however, with his baptismal profession still upon him, and thus deeply pledged to the fundamental creed of the Church. Well, in the world, no doubt, each will see evil enough, but this evil may be said in general to be far more *practical* than *doctrinal*—that is, a man will meet everywhere many more evil livers than professed disbelievers and heretics; and, even where there are the latter, he will very generally see some *practical* reasons at the bottom of their conduct also. Speaking for the most part, then, he will have to do with indirect attacks upon his faith through his morals rather than with direct controversy about it; and it must be by self-discipline, not theological proof, that he must repress the temptation. But next let us suppose him exposed to the attacks of heretics—what course is he to take? Why, he is to 'try the spirits,' to 'prove all things.' But what does this mean? Does it mean that he is at once to go into the whole question of his own creed, the creed he has sworn to, and under which he has had a (perhaps) long experience of good works? Surely not. This would be laying again the foundation and forgetting all his progress in

Christ. What did the Apostle mean then? It seems, no more than this—viz. that the new teaching should be tried by the old doctrine which a man had always held, being supposed in the possession of a standard of truth which he was to 'hold fast;' when new doctrines arose he was to test them by it. St. John bids us try the spirits, and in the last verse gives the Catholic confession of Christ's Incarnation as the test of the particular spirits he had there to deal with. To a Churchman rightly trained this example affords a general rule, and he avouches the ancient Catholic tradition in which he has been trained, and for the whole body of which he has moral and general, though not tangible and detailed evidences. And here, as regards the immediate case, the duty of a private individual ends. The doctrine not being there, he cannot receive the teacher into his house and bid him 'God speed;' he knows him to be wrong, passes him by, and has done with him.

The case we have stated is that of a private individual concerned only as to his own custody of the truth. If from connection with others, from his ministerial office, or from the peculiar circumstances of the Church in his time (throwing as it were upon the laity the duties of the clergy), he has to *refute* as well as to avoid heresy, the case is very different. 'The statelinesse of houses and the goodlinesse of trees' being not enough for the evil spirit of the times, we must, like Hooker, seek out the foundation which beareth up the one, and the root which ministreth to the other nourishment and life. But this is to pass into another province, and one which for our immediate purpose we need not enter, since it is plainly not that you have to do with in your papers. I only remark that the method of inquiry here, however minute, ought to be, and I suppose for the most part is, of a defensive, not of a philosophic kind—i.e. looks out for arguments to maintain or enforce, not grounds on which to found belief. The baptised Christian is the retained advocate, the enlisted soldier of the faith; he knows but one view of the question in debate—but one side in the battle to be fought.

With all this, however, as we have pointed out that in

education a general supply of reason for the faith that is in him should be mingled with the positive faith itself, so in after-life he will continue in the same course. He will love to open one portion of Scripture by the other, to read prophecy by its fulfilment, to dwell in turn upon each of the beauties and comforts of Holy Writ, seasoning all with the prayers and sacraments of the Church and the practices of a holy life, until his mind, like a wreath of flexible leaves submitted to the action of a mineral spring, will lose all power of turning aside, and will remain immovably fixed in the truth. And yet the whole way all along he may never once have doubted or suspected, never once proposed to himself the establishment of any one particular tenet; and I cannot think that it was (in ordinary circumstances) his *duty* to do so.

So much for the *duty*—the *right* you make correlative with it, but that I should be loth to do. I would not deny to any man the *right* of applying Scripture and Antiquity to every line of our Liturgy—the *duty* of so doing I have already considered.

And now, secondly, as to the infliction of temporal punishment for ecclesiastical purposes. The case, I think, as regards Scripture, stands thus:—

1. St. Paul miraculously punished blasphemy and heresy by death and disease. The abuse of the Holy Communion wrought the same effects.

2. The Primitive Church plainly exercised the power of excommunication—i.e. of interdiction of the Sacraments, prayers, and alms of the Church, and of intercourse with her members.

Now, as to the former of these classes, one portion of it has passed away, and the other is beyond the Church's control. But do they not both go to the *principle* of correcting and deterring by temporal chastisement, so far, at least, as to show that Christ's Kingdom was not so wholly unearthly as to shake off *by its very nature* all grosser sanction than that supplied by mere persuasion?

As to the second, we first repeat the question just asked,

and then inquire whether excommunication was not, in fact, the whole civil or social punishment which the Church *could* inflict before its union with the State; and wherein a total abstinence of personal intercourse with a friend or brother differs in *essence* from other moderate temporal punishments—banishment, for instance?

Lastly, how, when the Church and State become co-extensive, is it possible to suppose Church excommunication to take place without somehow involving civil penalties—a refusal of intercourse with the Church when there was all Judaism and Heathendom to resort to was merely exclusion from a certain circle of society—but a refusal of intercourse with the nation, what is it but exile?

To sum up the matter, I refer you to Bingham, whom I have herewith sent, and from whom you will collect enough to show that, almost immediately after the union of the Church and the State, temporal punishments (though not of the grave kind) were thought by some of the clergy of great advantage, and were admitted by St. Augustine (against his former opinions) to be so. The passage quoted from this Father is particularly worth remarking—it is at pp. 66–7. And the general adoption of them by the emperors, and resort to them by the clergy, show that there was no Catholic doctrine against their use, but rather the other way. And here I close my remarks, only wishing you *patience* to read them.

Yours ever,

JAMES R. HOPE.

. . . . . .

August 4, 1838.—Part VII. . . . Seventeenthly, I cannot wholly assent to. First, because there is now an University with which the Church has nothing to do, even in England, to say nothing of Scotland. And, second, because your mode of expression implies a surrender of *its* Universities by the nation to the Church, whereas, *historically*, the Universities belonged to the *Church* as *her* schools long before the nation was in any condition to avail itself of them. . . .

12. On this I remark that the principles you have laid

down appear to me to warrant these conclusions *only*—viz. that the Scotch members in either House ought, under the terms of the Union, to be regarded as the Committee of the Legislature for the affairs of the Scotch Church, it being understood that within the bounds of a fair proportion they shall deal with the public funds, for the support of their Church, without control from the rest of the Legislature. If they exceed the bounds of proportion, of course the case is altered, for it then becomes a question about taking an unfair share of English money for Scotch purposes, but this we need not here consider.

Viewed, then, as a committee, what have the Scotch representatives a right to from the other members? Why, simply this: that the matters relating to the Scotch Establishment shall be decided either by a majority of themselves, acting alone, or, if that majority be interfered with *from other quarters*, by that majority seconded to the degree requisite to overcome this interference.

I cannot see that upon your principles it is incumbent upon, nay, lawful for, any individual English or Irish member of Parliament to *originate* any measures on behalf of the Kirk, or to support them when proposed, one single step further than may be requisite to overcome the undue interposition of the other Irish or English members. . . . I add that I must disagree to the colonies being included in the principle of advancement as well as Scotland itself. At the Union, Scotland had no colonies—England had. Now, if the Kirk is to be extended in these colonies in which, at the time of the Union, the Government was bound to propagate the Church of England, upon what principle can you exclude it from an equal claim in case of the isolated settlement of any number of Scotchmen in England itself? The case of the after-acquired colonies is, perhaps, not so easy, but still, even here, the *onus probandi* lies with those who assert that in them the Legislature has no discretion. If it has a discretion, it is plain, upon all your principles, that it must be exercised in behalf of the Church.

. . . . . .

56. Would you say anything of the state of half-communion in which the Anglican Church stands with the Greek? Palmer will supply the facts.

Yours,

J. R. H.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq.

What has now been placed before the reader from Mr. Hope's side of the correspondence on this subject will afford a sufficiently distinct idea of his own position in the religious controversies of the time, particularly as evidencing that he was an independent thinker, and not one of the many who, in all great movements, are simply governed by impressions derived from the leading minds. There are still many pages in which he discharges the office of censor with the most minute diligence, correcting, suggesting, and sometimes re-modelling paragraphs, never hesitating, where he sees cause,

Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant,

or even to advise his friend to re-write such portions of the work as he thought incomplete or unequal to what had gone before. These criticisms, however, though in themselves full of interest, could hardly be understood without a much more copious citation of the passages commented on than the scope of the present memoir would allow; and of Mr. Hope's letters on this head I add only two more, as including some particulars illustrative of the contemporary affairs of the Anglican Church, and of the course of reading in which he was then engaged:—

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

August 29, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,—I take advantage of Kinnaird's appointment to join you at Ems to make him the bearer of a letter. . . . The most interesting piece of news which I have to tell you is that of Benjamin Harrison's having been made chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the room of Ogilvie. . . . The whole conduct of the Archbishop seems to have been extremely kind and judicious. He made some allusion to the Oxford doctrines, from which he begged to have it understood that he in some respects differed, but to what precise extent this difference extended I could not exactly gather, from Harrison. Indeed, I think the Archbishop mentioned it purposely in general terms in order to keep the door open behind him.

Harrison is, however, convinced that he has paid much attention to this subject, as he is said (by people who know him) to do to almost every difficult subject of the day. I think you will agree with me in thinking the circumstance one of good omen in respect of the revival of Church principles within the Church herself, for it must (however qualified) act as an intimation of the side which the Archbishop would be disposed to adopt, were he (quod absit!) called upon to choose between two avowedly divided parties in the Church; and I believe that, both officially and personally, the Archbishop still retains considerable influence.

With regard to Harrison himself, as I believe him not to be actuated by motives which would, to most men, make such a post desirable, I think that the appointment must be viewed rather as a serious task undertaken by him, under a full sense of its seriousness, and with a considerable sacrifice of personal habits, than in any other light. Besides the natural consequences of his position, I look with some satisfaction to the parts which he will have to play alternately—at Oxford, as representing the Churchmen who are struggling with the world as it daily occurs; in London, as reminding those who from the

press and hurry of business may be disposed to sacrifice principles to immediate advantage, of the uncompromising and logically consequent opinions and actions of men who live in the cloister and have no check to their course of thought which reasoning and research will not remove. We perhaps need firmness,—they discretion; and at this moment we are not too well provided with the means requisite for the exchange.

Since you went, I have heard no more of your book. . . . Since I read your MSS. I have fallen in with two documents which I think would interest you. The former, which I mention more in joke than in earnest, is a charter of King John's for *constituting a High Priest of the Jews.* It is in the Appendix to Collier's 'Eccl. Hist.' vol. i. p. 720. I have also seen it in Tovey's 'Anglia Judaica.' It grants a certain 'Jacobo Judæo de London, presbytero Judæorum, presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ,' and he was to be considered 'Dominicus Judæus noster, quem specialiter in servitio nostro retinuimus.' Further, he was to have the privilege 'ne de aliquo ad se pertinente ponatur in placitum, nisi coram nobis, aut coram capitali justitiario nostro; sicut charta Regis Ricardi Fratris Nostri testatur.' Here then you have a specimen in the twelfth century of a Royal Supremacy over the Jews, and of a concession of civil privileges to their High Priest *as such.*

The other, which I mention more seriously, is an Act of 34 Hen. VIII. c. 1, which, having been repealed by 1 E. VI. c. 12, has disappeared from the Statute Book. I have not had an opportunity of seeing the Act (which is probably among the Statutes of the Realm), but Collier quotes portions of it, vol. ii. p. 188. According to him, it recites: 'That many seditious and ignorant people had abused the liberty granted them for reading the Bible, that great diversities of opinions, animosities, tumults, and schisms have been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scripture. To retrieve the mischiefs arising from hence, it is enacted that a certain form of orthodox doctrine, consonant to the inspired writings, *and the doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church,* shall be set forth as a standard

of belief,' &c. Collier adds: 'The reading of the Bible is likewise prohibited to all under the degree of gentlemen and gentlewomen.' The abstract of the Act contained in the Common Statute Book says: 'There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any Church. No women or artificers, prentices, journey-men, serving-men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen nor labourers, shall read the New Testament in English.' This Act, I think, is worth referring to, to assist the Canon which you quote.

In speaking of your MSS. I must compliment you upon the patience with which you endured my criticisms. I have been undergoing the same process lately myself, in respect of a fragment of my College-work, and though I had far more reason to defer to my judge, yet I am sure I have borne the operation very indifferently.

I will conclude my letter by requesting you to undertake two commissions for me in the course of your travels. The first, to pick up for me any books you may meet with respecting Colleges or Universities, especially the former. I should like very much to know something respecting these institutions in the old Italian Universities; and I am also anxious to know how the Diocesan Seminaries for the Clergy established by the Council of Trent are found to work. . . . The second is, that you will be good enough to inquire where the most noted schools of Canon Law now are, and whether the study is much prosecuted. Also, whether Ferrari's 'Encyclopædia Ecclesiastica' is a book of any authority; if so, what is the best edition? If not, what other book one should rely on for the present state of the Papal Law. I shall be glad too to hear something of the state of discipline among the clergy and the regulation of the monasteries; also, how far the *hospitals*, public and private, are under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Italy, and whether they acknowledge the distinction between lay and spiritual hospitals.

Of course, I wish the above executed only as far as they fall in with your own pursuits, which I think that in some degree

they will; and so, with many good wishes for your well-being in all times, places, and ways, I remain, dear Gladstone, yours very truly, JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Ems: September 7, 1838.

My dear Hope,— . . . The first of your two circumstances was quite unknown to me, and would have been worth inserting as a curiosity, had it come before the MS. went to press; the second is, I take it, what was commonly called the Law of the Six Articles, passed in 1543, under Gardiner's revived influence, and keenly opposed by Cranmer. It would therefore fail to assist the Canon, since it was a reactionary movement towards Popery. I do not know in what history, but it is said that Henry VIII. *in extremis* was quite ready and anxious to re-establish the Papal jurisdiction.

I have asked Murray to request of you that you would have the kindness to look at the corrected proofs for me, because you are the person of all others who can do it with much the greatest ease and effect, particularly on account of the large communications we have had together on the subject. In almost any doubtful point, you would be able to decide where another might be at fault. . . .

Believe me, most sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

Merton College: October 11, 1838.

Dear Gladstone,— . . . Your proofs were committed to Mr. Murray before I left town—that is, by Friday, in last week, with, I trust, all necessary corrections. On this, however, I must be rather more detailed, as thus: The corrections which you had made on the proofs, or which came over at the same time with them, I saw fairly committed to print, and for the most part so accurately that I had little to alter. But, besides these, I ventured to use my own pen as I went through, chiefly upon these points; the correction of references and quotations, the

insertion here and there of a stop, and lastly, occasional alterations of a word, or of the arrangement of a sentence—the last only when the sense seemed absolutely to require it—that is, when without some study I could not reach your meaning. And these I think chiefly arise from the insertion of additional matter after you had first determined the cast of the sentence. I trembled as I did these last, knowing how delicate a matter it is to make permanent alterations in another man's work; but I convinced myself that you would approve of it, partly by the confidence you have shown me throughout our communications, partly by the necessity of the case, and partly, which to you must be the most satisfactory reason, by the lightness and rareness of the changes. . . .

In reading the work through in its present form, I was agreeably surprised by perceiving a degree of harmony in its different parts for which my previous study of it had not prepared me. I am also glad to recant much of what I said of the last part, which I am on far better terms with than before. You have hitherto been accustomed only to blame or to comparative praise from me, but, as the ship is now built, and it remains only to launch her, I will lay aside the instruments with which I endeavoured to assist in her completion, and will say of her as a whole, that she is a noble vessel, freighted with the riches of a true wisdom, directed by a spirit of pure and fervent piety, furnished out with knowledge and a practical experience. May God's blessing be with her, and may she so sail upon the troubled and uncertain sea of men's opinions, that through her we may in some degree be brought on our voyage towards 'the haven where we would be!' The intercourse which I have had with you upon this occasion, and the tone of mind in which your work has been conceived, carried on, and finally prepared for the world, and which I have had an opportunity of considering more closely than my previous acquaintance with you had allowed, have given me feelings towards you which are either not generally natural to me, or which have found few objects on which to rest, and I do not scruple to say that on looking forward into that confused and dangerous

period upon which we appear to be entering there is no one upon whom I so much rely for guidance and encouragement, no one with whom I would so gladly act or suffer as yourself. My own plans of life are in their detail uncertain and liable to continual change, but in their principal design they are pointed towards one object—the service of the Church. To it I am bound by ties as a member of it—which is common to many—as a member, too, of one of its endowed institutions, which is a more particular obligation; lastly, as one whose past life obliges him to a more continual thankfulness, and even to a greater zeal than those are held to who sum up God's chief mercies in their baptism, and have not to add to it, as I have, their subsequent repentance. Whenever, therefore, or wherever you may think that a willing labourer may be of use, you may reckon upon finding one in me; and, should I grow careless or draw back, there is no service you can render me which can deserve half that gratitude which I shall owe to you for rousing me to a more consistent sense of my duty.

The work on the Colleges which I am now engaged on is chiefly designed to further my general purpose. The strict connection between those institutions and the Church, the greatness of their resources for her support, especially at this moment, and at the same time the ignorance (would that I need not to add the indifference or selfishness!) of many of their members, both as to the detail of their duties and the general scope of their foundations, render some immediate efforts in the highest degree desirable. At the same time the subject is full of difficulties. The law is extremely obscure, the facts with difficulty accessible, and the weapon, moreover, must be a two-edged one, against positive enemies without, and against unworthy friends within. If we possibly can, [Roundell] Palmer and I design to publish about the time Parliament meets, but there is nothing ready yet even for inspection, and both he and I have been much distracted by other engagements. . . .

There is a scheme for erecting a monument or a church in memory of Cranmer. It is said to have been long projected, but it cannot be doubted that it is designed to express the

sense of the University on the question of the Reformation. It seems favourably entertained by *Routh* and by the heads generally. I attended the Latin service the other day, at the opening of term. It was a very striking thing. You will be amused to hear that I have found some of our college testimonials for orders as late as 1663, which attest that the individual in question 'nihil unquam quod sciamus aut credidit aut tenuit nisi quod *ex doctrina veteris ac novi testamenti catholici patres ac veteres episcopi collegerunt*, nisi quod jam etiam Ecclesia Anglicana probat, tuetur!' This is pretty good evidence of the reception of the Canon. The form seems to have been usual up to that time. I have not yet discovered when it fell into disuse. The latter clause about the Church of England is the only part now retained.

Many thanks to you for your goodwill on the subject of my commissions; but pray do not let them be burdensome to you, since except those which relate to inquiries about the present state of the Romish theological seminaries, there is nothing which I am immediately in need of. I will, however, add one item: it is this. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Kilwardby, in whose time our college was founded, was soon after made Cardinal and Bishop (I think) of *Portua*. In leaving this country, he took his *Register* with him, and it is supposed to be in *the Datary* (?) at Rome. If you have an opportunity, pray find this out; but only if you have an opportunity; that is, do not make one. The date of Kilwardby's promotion is about 1276–7, or perhaps a year or two later.

You will be delighted to hear that the S.P.G. meetings have answered pretty well, as far as they have yet gone. I am in hopes of getting something permanent established in the University.

Ever yours most truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq.,
Rome.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Rome: January 11, 1839.

My dear Hope,—Your letter of Oct. 11 [the writer explains delay of acknowledgment] caused me the liveliest satisfaction; first, to find that you had not grudged putting the last hand to your valuable labours; secondly, to receive the approbation which you bestow on mine; and lastly, to recognise in your words that declaration of sympathy which, independently of, and before any verbal expression of it, I had always known you would freely bestow upon any effort to advance the cause so near your heart. I had not missed your praise, because my request to you had been, not to approve the book, but to improve it; and my confidence in your judgment and character would have been lowered, if you had deviated from that honest purpose in order to fufil idle conventionalities. But still, it is not less gratifying to me to find that your deliberate conscience ratifies what I have done; nay, the more so, because I have as much conviction that you mean what you say now, as when you fulfilled the former task of emendation with so much fidelity and effect. . . . .

Ever sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I will subjoin to the foregoing selection the following letter of Mr. Hope's to Mr. Newman, dated March 1, 1839, as bearing on the same subject, with a first reference also to a very important question which we shall presently find affecting his own career in the most decisive manner:—

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn: March 1, 1839.

Dear Newman,— . . . What with weaker health than I could wish, and more occupations than I ought to have undertaken, I fear that it would be impossible for me to provide you even with such a review of Gladstone as I might, with greater strength

and more leisure, have been capable of. Still, however, I adhere to my willingness to give any assistance in my power to any other person who may undertake it. [It was reviewed in the 'British Critic' by Mr. Keble.] No one, I think, should do so without having read Coleridge's 'Church and State,'—a work which has evidently had a great deal to do with Gladstone's fundamental ideas of the subject, and to which I am disposed to impute the adoption of at least one of his views from which I dissent.

You have heard from Wood[1] about the 'Post.' I have nothing new. We are all in a ferment about the Cathedral Bill. If the frank will bear it, I will enclose a lay address we have on foot. There seems to be some hope of modifications even in the Commons, but I fear we must look only to the Lords for a rejection of the principle of alienation. If the Bill pass, the question of the colleges, as far as rights of property are concerned, will be decided in such a manner as to preclude further discussion. It will only have to be decided whether the Bishop of London wants our funds or not.

The discussion of the Lent restrictions on the theatres will, I hope, do good, though it has a sad, scandalous look.

Yours very truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

Rev. J. H. Newman.

During the year 1839, Mr. Hope, independently of the duties of his profession, continued to be actively engaged in collecting materials for his proposed work on the History of Colleges, so often alluded to in his correspondence. At the beginning of the year he mentions the National Society [for Education], of which it was an epoch, as his chief object of interest. The Children's Friend Society had by this time begun to disappoint expectations; about the middle of 1840, I

[1] S. F. Wood, brother to the present Lord Halifax. The allusion is to the *Morning Post* newspaper, as to which see below (p. 179).

find Mr. Badeley speaks of himself as 'rapidly cooling' in his zeal for it, and it must, I think, have been dissolved soon after the latter date. Yet its operations had no doubt afforded Mr. Hope opportunities of much beneficence, to which various letters bearing on the subject of sending out *protégés* of his to the Cape bear witness. He was still giving an energetic support to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and more than once spoke at meetings in the country to animate its cause. Wallingford and Thame are places thus named, near which he happened to be staying with friends at the time. As a member of the Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he also interested himself for the publication of books and especially of pictures tending to cultivate the taste and moral and religious feeling of the people. The following extract from a letter of his at this period will show how completely he had in every direction bidden farewell to indolence:—

J. R. Hope, Esq. to his Sister, Lady Henry Kerr.

Travellers': March 4, 1839.

Dear Louisa,— . . . You must not suppose that I do not reproach myself for writing so seldom, or that other people do not reproach me also. I have but one excuse for this and many other omissions—viz. that I have more to do than I can manage, and that I seldom leave off harder work till I am too tired to feel inclined even for letter-writing. You will say that it is my own fault undertaking so much, and so it is; but if you lived in sight of so many pressing objects as daily come before one here, I do not think that you would blame me for it. In fact, the world is running a race, good against bad, and if we are beat now, it looks as if we need never start again.

In this way I have become a member of four or five committees, and these, joined with my book, drag rather heavy upon me. . . . Yours affectionately,

J. R. H.

As we have seen two or three pages back, Mr. Hope was by this time a friend and correspondent of Mr. Newman's. In October 1838, though much the younger man, he had called on Mr. Newman in his rooms at Oriel, and asked to be allowed to make his acquaintance; a frankness which pleased and gratified the great man, who was by this time beginning to be the chief of a party. The Cardinal has himself related, in his beautiful funeral sermon on Mr. Hope-Scott, how quickly he found out what manner of man it was who had thus 'unasked, unsought,' come to his door. Their friendship rapidly assumed a very intimate and confidential character, and was indeed *the* great friendship of Mr. Hope's life from 1838 to the hour of his death. One who knew him well is remembered to have said, as far back as 1840, that Mr. Hope was as much pleased by Newman's approbation of a paper he had published in support of the Anglican Church, as if he had received some high office of public distinction. Even late in life, when Father Newman's name was mentioned his whole countenance would brighten, as if a chord in his heart were touched which belonged to Newman alone. It seems necessary to use this emphasis here, since the very extent of the confidence shown in their correspondence would prevent an unreserved communication to the world of letters that would prove it the most strongly.

The first letter of importance I find in the collection kindly placed in my hands by His Eminence and by the executors of Mr. Hope-Scott is from Mr. Hope himself, and dated January 26, 1839. It relates to a plan of having articles on Church subjects published in the 'Morning Post,' which had been showing itself more kindly disposed than the rest of the newspaper press to the Oxford views. The editorship of that journal had recently changed hands, Mr. Praed having just resigned; and I believe an effort was made to place it in the hands of the Rev. Thos. Mozley, brother-in-law of Mr. Newman, but this does not appear in the correspondence. Next, Mr. Newman asks Mr. Hope to collect for him any sceptical objections he might meet with as current in the world; an inquiry in which Mr. Hope seems not to have been able to render much, or any, assistance, and which was very soon dropped.

To the latter part of the year 1839 I assign a fragment in Mr. Hope's handwriting addressed: '*To the Bankers, Merchants, and Manufacturers of England.*' This paper is an appeal to the sound judgment and honesty of those classes in support of the principle of religious education being retained in the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, which he views as the turning-point in the struggle between infidelity and the old English habits of thought and action. More immediately, however, he regards the Dissenters as the aggressive power to be dreaded, availing itself of the education question for a stepping-stone to the next stage of the conflict, which would be to attack the Establishment itself. He adverts in a popular style to

the error of supposing that the clergy in Catholic times were careless about education, and to the failure of the promises of the Reformation in that particular, due, he thinks, not to the Reformers, but to the selfishness of individuals; and recommends his then favourite associations, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The whole shows that the writer, at the time, took very decidedly the old Tory side in religious politics, much as it was represented (to take two very different examples) by thinkers like Southey and Sewell. His mention, however, with the irony of inverted commas, of 'the saintly King Edward,' shows a dissatisfaction with the Reformation, soon to deepen in his mind, though as yet he had no formed and definite misgivings as to the Anglican position. I subjoin some paragraphs from this paper by way of illustrating more fully the direction which his thoughts were taking :—

[The political Dissenters] present one of the most startling anomalies which a Christian eye can contemplate. The bodies to which they belong, as it is well known, left the Church upon professed scruples of conscience. Her doctrine was not Scriptural, her vestments were Popish, her form of Government was un-apostolical. They could endure a communion of this kind no longer, and so, with a good many mis-quotations of Scripture, they left it. And now what are they about? Cherishing patiently and peaceably that purity of doctrine which they thought an excuse for schism? Guarding themselves against other erroneous sects from which they differ as much as, or even more than, they do from the Church? Advancing what they believe to be truth by argument, and enforcing it by Christian charity? All these things the Episcopal Church in Scotland (although there in political dissent) has thought it meet and

right to do. What are the Sectaries about here? Is not the Puritan combining with the Papist? The placid Quaker with the fierce Independent? And, though the 'Religious Equality Society' has, *ex cathedrâ*, condemned the Unitarians as unfit for its fellowship, has it not prescribed a Test which will include the Socinian (properly so called), the Arian, and the Sabellian, to say nothing of innumerable shades of difference of opinion upon other portions of revealed truth? Have not, in fact, all the Protestant Dissenters, except the Methodists, formed themselves, practically speaking, into a communion of which the Shibboleth is enmity to the Church? And does not this communion avail itself, without scruple, of all the aid which Papistry and Infidelity will lend it?

And now to the question more immediately at hand. I need not tell you that upon this political combination the power of the present Government mainly depends. I need not say that to it the Church in Ireland has been well-nigh sacrificed, that for its pleasure the Church in England has been shrewdly assailed, and that to gratify its wishes the Church has, in the colonies, been reckoned only as one of several equally-favoured claimants for the conscientious patronage of the State.

Still, however, the Legislature of this country has not yet pledged itself to any measure which directly acknowledges the separation of Church and State.

If I mistake not, the question of National Education is earnestly looked to as likely to supply this desirable measure.

Unlike the philosophers above described [whom he had accused of taking no means to ensure the right use of education 'than what may be supplied by a few abstract propositions on the commercial unprofitableness of vice'], the Dissenters are not so mad as to separate religion altogether from education. On the contrary, they see and acknowledge that this it is which, in every good sense, 'makyth man.'[2] They are anxious, therefore, to include what they call Christianity, but they are very determined, here as elsewhere, to exclude the Church.

[2] In allusion, no doubt, to the motto of New College, Oxford: '*Manners makyth man.*'

Now I have pointed out above the important fact that the religious education of youth constitutes one of the many legal and historical links by which the Church and State of this kingdom are united. And how, indeed, can it be otherwise? If the clergy are to teach men, upon what possible plea can it be said that they are not fit to teach children? Or if, because a comparatively small number of Dissenters say that their children will lose the benefit of public education, should it be according to Church principles, we are to allow that the national system shall be adapted to the wants of this minority, how can we refuse to alter our prayer-books and articles for the same purpose, or at least to give alternate pay and alternate duty to the Dissenting preachers and to the clergy of the Church?

It is a certain and undeniable proposition that the institution of a national system of education, from which the teaching of the clergy is excluded, is the first decisive step towards the complete renunciation of the Church. It is the withdrawal of one half, and that the most important of her charge, and the other cannot be long of following.

CHAPTER X.

1839–1840.

Mr. Hope's Article in the 'British Critic' on the 'Magdalen College Statutes' Described, with Select Passages—Conflict Preparing in Anglican Church in 1840—Waynflete's Statutes—Mediæval Collegiate Legislation—Ideal of Clergy—Anglican Deficiencies—Collegiate Foundations, for Whom Designed?—Are Colleges Lay or Ecclesiastical Bodies?—Use of Disputations—Religious Effect of Old Collegiate Life—Collegiate Restoration—Mr. Newman's Opinion of the Article—Mr. Hope Contributes to Phillimore's edition of 'Burn'—Is Influenced by Hurrell Froude's 'Remains'—Ascetical Habits of Mr. Hope—His Heroic Charity—Religious Diary, December 1839—Visits the Thun Family in Holland.

In January 1840 Mr. Hope undertook, at Mr. Newman's request, a thoroughly congenial task, namely, a review in the 'British Critic' of Mr. G. R. Ward's translation of the 'Magdalen College Statutes,' which I shall presently describe in full. In February of the same year there was an active interchange of letters between them on the subject of the Chancellorship of Oxford University, a post which it seems Mr. Hope was anxious should be filled by a spiritual person. He suggested Dr. Edward Denison, the then Bishop of Salisbury. The Archbishop of Canterbury was next thought of, but I believe nothing came of the move. It was part of a line of policy which for long afterwards kept the University in hot water; academical questions, as they successively arose, being all made by the Tractarian party to turn upon their ecclesiastical bearings, and viewed as instruments for furthering the cause of

the reaction to Catholicism. It commenced with the voting for Dr. Mill in 1832, and against Dr. Hampden in 1836; but there were several instances of it in 1834–5 about Education. With this great current, now in motion, the stream of Mr. Hope's thought began perceptibly to mingle—the result of those studies on the University and College Statutes, and on mediæval Oxford generally, to which he had now for two years at least so ardently devoted himself.

Mr. Hope's article on the 'Magdalen College Statutes' came out in the 'British Critic' of April 1840. As that Review has long since disappeared from ordinary access, I make no apology for devoting some space to the consideration of a paper which so strongly illustrates his position at the time. The publication of translations of the Oxford College Statutes was a step which Mr. Hope looked upon with much jealousy, and he protests against it in pretty strong terms, although Mr. Newman had rather anxiously cautioned him to be gentle with the translator, who had been an old brother-scholar of his at Trinity, and who had much good in him notwithstanding a certain acerbity of manner.

This forbearance Mr. Hope endeavoured to exercise, but he was already far too decidedly a man of the mediæval type not to feel any course tending to the interference of popular opinion, or even of public legislation, in these great semi-monastic institutions, an impertinence, a presumption, and an injustice. Still, such a Book of Statutes being once communicated to the world, he could not but range with eager and reverent curiosity over the rich field of ideas thus laid open

before him. He took for granted that his Church was one with her predecessor of the Middle Ages, strangely as the two might stand in contrast on the surface. His sanguine nature was still confident that 'the thread of those old systems might be renewed, their ancient vigour and usefulness restored, and that they might yet transmit to future ages that unbroken chain of thought and feeling by which,' he believed, 'they had bound up the past with the present history of his Church, and maintained the sense of its continuous and catholic existence.'

He gives a very full and masterly outline of the scheme of collegiate government which the consummate wisdom of the great ecclesiastical statesman of the thirteenth century had devised. All that he says thereon shows how great and increasing a fascination the academical ideas of that age had obtained over his mind. It is singular, on looking back, to think how narrowly Oxford missed a reconstruction of its collegiate institutions on those principles. The Merton reform was, perhaps, the only direct effort of the kind made by any college in its corporate capacity, but individuals in almost all were soon attempting to monachize, and to live as they thought that men in their places would have lived in the olden days. They sought to liberate the cloister from the worldliness which had gained possession of it, and might have addressed the grand and austere discipline they desired to restore in the words of George Herbert:—

> **Whereas my birth and spirit rather took**
> **The way that takes the town,**
> **Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,**
> **And wrap me in a gown.**

Mr. Hope felt, as later Oxford reformers have felt, that colleges were intended for something higher than to be boarding schools for the University (a phrase he himself uses in this article, which should be contrasted with Mr. Pattison's elaborate work 'Suggestions on Academical Organisation'), but he never seems for an instant to have contemplated a collegiate society as an institution for the advancement of secular learning as such, independently of moral and religious training for the service of the Church. He viewed the college mainly as a seed-plot for the formation of clerics to whom the Anglican Church might look for the means of reclaiming the dense mass of population that were springing up in unmanageable luxuriance under the manufacturing system. He thought that youths might be trained up for such a purpose in the style of plain living and high thinking of which William of Waynflete had thrown out the type, and which he believed had been deformed and lost, neither by the Reformation nor yet by Puritanism, but by the deep dishonour of the days of the Restoration. For years Mr. Hope seems to have had working in his mind the theory that such a reconstruction, or at any rate such an application of the old collegiate foundations, was what the Anglican Church had to look to in her great need; and that here was an unnoticed treasure, lying idle indeed, and covered with mould, but still, as is the case with the most precious metal, without any loss of substance, and as capable as ever of its original brightness and utility. If Mr. Hope's noble and generous idea broke down almost before it came into operation, the fault was not his, but due to

the primary error of the assumption which he shared with so many that the Anglican Church was identical with that of the Middle Ages. Before quitting this part of my subject, I subjoin a few extracts from the article before us, which will present Mr. Hope's views of that date before the reader, even more vividly than his correspondence can do, and will show that as early as 1840, at the age of twenty-seven, and eleven long years before he took the final step, his mind was plainly, and one might imagine even sensibly, being led in the direction of the Catholic Church.

Conflict preparing in the Anglican Church in 1840.

[After a satirical glance at the dull, dilettante style, and the conventional Protestant prejudices in which such a republication as that of the 'Magdalen College Statutes' would probably have been reviewed in the eighteenth century, Mr. Hope proceeds:]

And why is it that such a strain would but ill satisfy us now? Is it that we are in ourselves wiser and better than our ancestors? that we are more *capable* of deep thought and feeling than they? Is it not rather that they lived in times when men were tempted to carelessness and fell, while we are forced to be watchful, whether we will or not? For the state of good and evil amongst them may be likened to that of opposite forces during a long and unprofitable truce: ours is as the breaking up of armies and the hurrying to and fro of men preparing for the fight. And in the field we speak of there lie two hosts—on the one side are the encampments of the Church, pitched after the model set by her first captains; on the other are the gorgeous armaments of the world, and of those sects which hate the Church more than they fear the world. But between the lines there is a mixed multitude; and in it, alas! are to be seen the sworn soldiers of the Cross, their weapons laid aside as cumbrous, or discarded as unpleasing to those

with whom they have so long joined in pleasure and interest that they can scarce think that they are enemies. And during this hollow truce the world has quietly pressed on, and the Church has step by step receded, till at length we are come to this—that peace can no longer be feigned, and a sharp, deadly struggle must ensue. Nor are we without warning of our danger; more than one blast has already sounded, and has startled even those who least wished to hear it. But we have been 'eating and drinking, and marrying and giving in marriage' with the world; and now we rise up like men heated by the wine-cup, and giddy with the dance, entangled by interests we never should have pursued, softened by affections we never ought to have indulged, and we know not our banners nor our leaders, and we doubt our friends, and cannot yet strike our foes; and those who have been amongst us, but not of us, openly forsake us; and those who are faint-hearted would still fain purchase a short rest with the gold of the sanctuary, and try to 'make a covenant with death, and with hell be at agreement.' (Pp. 367, 8.)

Waynflete's Statutes not obsolete.

[After describing in detail the organisation of Magdalen College as created by its founder, the reviewer considers it with reference to the needs of the Anglican Church of his own day:]

Such, then, was this institution of the fifteenth century. Since Waynflete's day some four hundred years have passed, and have swept away with them the memorials of both good and evil men, have changed dynasties, remodelled governments, and have witnessed the extinction of Churches; and yet it has been the pleasure of God that our Constitution should still bear traces of its ancient character, that our Church should remain catholic, and that this college, which is her offspring, should count an unbroken succession from its founder down to this day. But is this succession one of persons and property only, and not of principles? Are these still Waynflete's scholars and fellows, his cloisters and towers, his goodly manors and rectories? but are his statutes, which were as the reasoning soul of his body politic, useless and obsolete? . . . (P. 380.)

Wisdom of mediæval legislation for Colleges.

It is no scandal upon the Reformation to say that, since it took place, we never have had permanently entertained amongst us the same large and systematic views of Church government —the same application of means to ends—the same wisdom in the forming of character, in the modelling of institutions, in the subordination of authorities and offices, in the meeting of difficulties as they arise, in the pressing forward where the path is open, in the yielding where it is useless to resist, as distinguish in its best days the practice, and in its worst the theory at least of the Roman hierarchy. . . . Even if we could not at once understand the value of [his] scheme, it would be but modesty to doubt our own judgment; fortunately, however, we are not reduced to so difficult a virtue, for what can any one object against Waynflete's two principal instruments for the Church's good—the maintenance of continual liturgies, and the formation of a learned, frugal, obedient clergy? (P. 382.)

Ideal of a clergy—Anglican deficiencies.

. . . All are agreed that the clergy ought to have peculiar gifts; and all but enthusiasts, that education is one of the means towards their attainment. But what are these gifts? As they are patterns to the people, holiness and self-denial; as they are intercessors with God, habits of fervent prayer; as they are teachers of the truth, knowledge; as they are opposers of error, learning; as they are rulers, diligence; as they are subject, obedience; as they are possessors of one deposit and dispensers of the same grace, unity of heart and tongue.

Now we cannot but think that to produce in our present needs a body of men thus qualified, would be almost worth the temporary sacrifice of half the parochial ministrations of the kingdom. But certainly to reject the use of means ready fitted for the work, and to violate oaths, and to disturb rights of property in order to this rejection, would be well-nigh madness. . . . As to learning, there doubtless is much classical and general knowledge amongst our clergy; but surely no one

who is aware that the University reading of a layman, increased by the superstructure of one course of divinity lectures, constitutes for the most part the whole stock of our young deacons, and that they are cast, thus furnished, into a whirl of employments which precludes all hopes of further attainments—no one, we think, who knows this much of our present methods can expect that great divines should be rife amongst us.

. . . We have no systems of theology, satisfactory from their mere consistency, to put ready-made into the hands of our clergy. . . . And lastly, how stand we for discipline? What weight has the rubric? What deference do the canons receive? . . . What general sense is there amongst the clergy of their enrolment into a company where but one will should prevail, where all hearts should be drawn out from themselves, and centered upon a common cause? (Pp. 382–4.)

Model afforded in Waynflete's Statutes.

But these things need not be further pursued. We have said thus much of them with no pleasure; and we now gladly pass to the consideration, whether Waynflete's Statutes may not give us an example how they may be changed.

Into their details we will not again enter. That portion of the subject with which we are now concerned may be described as the institution of a school of the Church which should afford the means of instruction to her clergy from the age of twelve years upwards; and when the time of education, commonly so called, has passed by, should give opportunity for studious men to lay up stores of knowledge for her service, which should throughout combine these means and opportunities with seclusion from the world, with habits of devotion, self-restraint, frugality, and obedience—with the constant idea of an interest external to each separate member of the body, but intrinsic to the body itself—with the sense of common wants, common honours, common losses—with the feelings of brotherly love and sacramental unity—and, above all, with the consciousness that the good gifts thus received were a talent for diligent traffic, that both men and angels were spectators of the

discharge of those offices which for God's honour and His Church's welfare were here entrusted to His servants.

Now what is this but the outline of a miniature Church? It has been said by an author[1] once famous but now forgotten, that civil societies and corporations owe their origin to the desire of restoring the relations which existed in the primitive family; and it is well known that religious bodies, both within and without the Church, are for the most part founded upon a parallel theory of ecclesiastical renovation. . . . The model then of ecclesiastical offices and discipline in their largest sense may be seen in the provisions of this collegiate institution; and if so, to be reared under their influence, and gradually to accommodate the mind to their form and spirit, must surely be for the priesthood the noblest training which can be devised . . . (Pp. 384, 5.)

Collegiate foundations, for what class of society designed?

We know very well that Dr. Paley and his followers will tell us that if these things were enforced nobody would come near the colleges—that they might be shut up for mere lack of inmates. But upon this point we will take the liberty of speaking out. We are not of the number of those who believe that, on the whole (respect being had to the general condition of the Church and of society), the colleges are at present filled by a class of persons such as on account of rank or fortune ought not to be admitted to them. . . . We believe, therefore, that the enforcement of the founder's regulations would not materially change the class of candidates for collegiate places; but . . . if Dr. Paley's arguments be applicable to the present race of college fellows, it would be to us an argument that they were not fit for the statutes, rather than that the statutes should be bent to them. No one who looks to our teeming and destitute population can doubt that the counties named by Waynflete would furnish hundreds of parents who would gladly seek for their children the founder's bounty, even with double his yoke attached to it. And when we consider the

[1] Bodin, *De Republicâ.*

gradations in the means of learning afforded by the system of parochial and grammar schools throughout the country, it is at once plain that we are ready furnished with machinery for making a cotter's son as fit for the benefits of this college as the offspring of a peer.

Whether, in respect of her clergy in general, the Church might not draw purer water from these depths; whether she might not find in these mines a plastic earth which by her own institutions she might model for her own purposes; whether the notions of refinement and aristocracy may not have done much to impede discipline, to spread luxury, and to hide the spiritual character of the priesthood, are questions too vast and important to be rashly discussed; but they are also becoming daily too urgent to be put aside. We will only say that we believe it will be found that the greatest ornaments of our Church, and of all others in the world, have for the most part owed little to the accidents of birth, and that if it is thought that gentlemanlike habits are well-nigh indispensable for the clergy (as who will deny their advantage?), it must be remembered also that the Catholic Church embodies all that is most ennobling in the universe, and that it can only be where her institutions are crippled and imperfect that she can take at second-hand from the world qualities which, in their true sense, none can bestow more amply than herself. Gentlemen, therefore, the Church must have; but they must be priest-gentlemen, not samples of the squirearchy. And if the ordinary course of society will not furnish them, as indeed it never has to any great extent, she must—as Waynflete designed she should, and as she for long used to do—make them for herself . . . (Pp. 389, 390.)

Are the Colleges lay or ecclesiastical bodies?

We think it not unlikely that we may be told that although the clergy of Waynflete's day held colleges to be ecclesiastical foundations, yet the Reformation has decided that they are lay bodies, and so all our theories fall to the ground. And if our opponents be learned they will tell us that Dr. Coveney's case

settled this as to the very college we are discussing. But to this we shall answer that Coveney's case did no such thing; and, though we admit that common-lawyers, a hundred years after the Reformation, chose to settle that colleges, as a class, are lay corporations, yet we shall in the first place say that their decision was (upon their own principles) a wrong one, and we shall next ask whether those who urge it against us on such points as we have been here discussing, are disposed to rescue Manchester College from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, because Blackstone consistently classes it with the colleges in the Universities as being lay; or are willing to go a little further into the mysteries of the common-law, and hold (as has been held by some of its professors) that both prebendal stalls and deaneries of cathedrals are of a temporal nature? This doctrine of the courts, although it has done much harm, is in fact a merely technical one, and leaves the internal functions of the colleges just where they were. . . .

A reference to Dr. Lamb's MS. documents, lately published, will show that at Cambridge (and probably the same was the case at Oxford) [the Reformation Commissioners] were jealous of wealth and station; that they specially retained the dresses appointed by the college statutes; that they by no means had the notions lately expressed by the members of Trinity College, Dublin, about the celibacy of fellows; that they contemplated the maintenance of a collegiate life, even when pestilence might require absence from the University; that they did not think common prayer a matter of indifference, or five o'clock in the morning too early for chapel; that they held the solemn commemoration of founders and benefactors to be a wholesome thing; that subordination was, in their opinion, indispensable; and that they accounted hardly any matter too small to be the subject of definite rule. The same spirit, as far as we know, is to be traced in the foundations of the seventeenth century; and, as for the familiar use of Latin, and frequent exercises in the way of disputation, it is well known that all the academical systems, both here and abroad, have, till within compara-

tively late years, been conducted by the assistance of these instruments. (Pp. 390–92.)

Use of disputations.

. . . We suppose that it is admitted to be expedient that clergymen should understand divinity (it being their business), and how is it possible to ensure, even in boys, to say nothing of men, a constant attention to study, unless by some system which, like that of disputations, will bring their knowledge often to the test? (P. 392.)

Colloquial use of Latin.

. . . It may be said, indeed, that it is inexpedient that Latin should be spoken lest it should lose its purity; but will it be contended that no good classical Latin was written from the time of Erasmus down to that of Dr. Johnson; or do we, who write it only, write it better than they who spoke it too? Or even if there were some risk in this respect, would it be a very shocking thing if a body of divines were more accustomed to the language of the Western Church than of the Empire? Is not the Christian religion (be it reverently spoken) itself a mighty barbarism which classical thought and language cannot represent or contain? (P. 393.)

Religious effect of the old Collegiate life.

To be every moment subject to a sudden command for some common object; to be forced every now and then into the practical business of life; to be obliged to attend to dress and to punctuality in hours; to have no choice but associate with men of equal or superior ability every day; and, above all, to be brought continually under the influence of a choral service, and thus, when the heart is narrowed to some trifling object, to have it roused and expanded, whether it will or not, into a sense of God's presence, of the communion of saints, and of the nothingness of all knowledge which does not point towards Heaven, are surely not expedient things alone, but where they may be had, necessary, and in all ways most desirable. (P. 393.)

Need of caution in Collegiate restoration.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. . . . Many of our observations relate to matters of personal habit, which in advancing life are not easily changed, and all, for aught we know, may be affected by that spurious authority which the practice of several careless generations may have given them. In such a case to require of the existing members of a body that they should, by one effort, redress all the faults of their predecessors, would be both unwise and unjust. Unwise, because such violent and rapid changes, even from evil to good, are dangerous; unjust, because the previous state of things was that which men contemplated when they entered the society, and which arose out of no misconduct of their own. To adjust the different duties of different members of an institution thus circumstanced, belongs to a somewhat obsolete casuistry, but its main outlines will probably be attained by all who, making duty their constant and chief end, shall endeavour that moderation and charity shall be their guides. (Pp. 394, 5.)

Results anticipated from Collegiate restoration.

There would then proceed forth from [the colleges] a succession of hardy soldiers of the Cross, knowing the truth and able to defend it; content with few comforts, and accustomed to union and obedience. While in each generation there would be some who, enamoured with deep thought, and conversant with the wisdom of all ages, would thank their founder for having provided them, amongst his other benefits, with quiet graves; and would go on calmly in study and in prayer, until they should pass to Heaven so gently and so gradually that death would seem to be no palpable change, but only as one of those many shades which mark the transition of night into day, or as a line of that indistinct horizon in which the eye cannot discern where the earth ends, or where the sky begins.

From these men thus abstracted from the commerce of life the Church would, from time to time, receive new treasures of learning, and new lessons how to live above the world. And

even if any of them should be called away, and leave no visible fruits, think not, ye seekers after a sign, ye trusters only in sight, think not that they will, therefore, have been of the idlers of the earth; for what know ye of their influence upon those around them—how much of holy zeal, how much of charitable patience, how much of well-directed study may have arisen from the precept and example of these nameless men? And still more, how dare ye to scan the mystery of their faith in God? What know ye of sins repented, of a passionate will subdued, of victories won for the Church by prayer, of evils averted from a forgetful or rebellious nation? What did Simeon but 'wait'? What did Anna but 'fast and pray'? And, therefore, when ye charge them that they have 'laboured in vain, and spent their strength for nought and in vain,' they shall, by such instances, oppose you, and shall reply, with confidence, 'Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.' (Pp. 395, 6.)

This article delighted the editor of the 'British Critic,' as may well be supposed. On reading it in proof, Mr. Newman addressed the following letter to Mr. Hope:—

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—I have just finished reading your article, and you will understand best what I feel about it when I say I like it so very much, or rather, like is a poor word, that I cannot criticise it. It has carried me away. . . . The only criticism I could make, if I tried, would be that it is rather hard in parts, which arises, first, from the abstruseness of the matter; next, from your having thought much on and got familiar with your subject; and, thirdly, from your not being in habits of publication.

If you can enter into an editor's feelings, you might divine that he *first*, on receiving an article, looks through it *negatively*, to see that there is nothing which offends him—*so* I looked at yours in MS. I did not *enter into* it.—Ever yours,

Littlemore March 18, 1840. J. H. NEWMAN.

Although Mr. Hope's great work on the 'History of Colleges' was never completed, the article of which the substance has just been placed before the reader no doubt affords an idea of the spirit in which it would have been written. Its legal and scientific aspect might be further conjectured from some anonymous contributions which Mr. Hope supplied, a few years later, to his friend Sir R. Phillimore's edition of Burn's 'Ecclesiastical Law,' under the head of 'Colleges [and Universities].'[2] They contain an excellent list of authorities, and a very learned, though compact statement of the constitution and legal relations of colleges. The book being of easy access, I do not make any abstract of this article, but would remark that it also instructively illustrates both the influence of his position at Merton on Mr. Hope's mind, and the great advance his intellect had made, in the course of two or three years, in its strength and power of condensation. He claims, almost at the beginning of the paper, Walter de Merton as the first founder of colleges in their complete and formal character (as distinct from mere eleemosynary provisions), proudly referring to his monument, where this great chancellor and bishop is called the founder by example, *omnium quotquot extant collegiorum*: and he points out the very interesting feature in the Merton statutes, which allows of the possibility of the removal of the college to some other place than Oxford, so that it might be called 'rather a private means for profitably using the university than a constituent portion of it.'

I have anticipated a little, in order to complete

[2] Vol. i. pp. 431–515. London: 1842.

a part of my subject, and now return to 1838 and 1839, during which years Mr. Hope appears to have been continually making visits to Oxford, and sometimes to have resided there for weeks and months together. About this time he was much influenced, as to habits of self-discipline, by the example presented in Hurrell Froude's 'Remains,' which came out in 1838 —a circumstance which perhaps may account for his calling on Mr. Newman in October of that year, as related in a previous chapter (p. 178). There remains a little MS. book in his handwriting containing thoughts and ejaculations taken from those volumes, and evidently intended for his own devotional use. It is believed that he set a value on some one practice of mortification to be observed throughout life; and that, with this object, he adopted the custom of abstaining from *butter*—I speak, of course, of his Puseyite days—an idea which would be quite in keeping with the system of Hurrell Froude. Although he had given up his intention of taking Anglican orders, he still seems to have considered himself as bound to a *quasi*-clerical manner of life under the college statutes, and used always, about this period, to dress in black. On the same principle, he also ceased from the recreation of field-sports. His austerities, however, went far beyond the simple abstinence I have mentioned: I do not know whether to the extent to which some Oxford men in those days carried theirs (throughout Lent, for example, going absolutely without food till the evening) —but at all events to a degree which caused his mother much anxiety and distress, she not in the least par-

taking in his religious views. Some letters have been preserved, which were interchanged on this subject between Lady Hope and Mr. Badeley, in which that faithful friend, whose affection approached the maternal character—to style it 'brotherly' is hardly to do it justice—does his best to comfort her ladyship, and is exhorted by her to use such influence as he possessed, on her side, and make his friend either give up his austerities or else his studies—for health, she was sure, would break down if *both* were pursued.

Charity of that unusual heroic type, which Mr. Hope's life so often exhibits, could be exemplified from records of this date. I find that, in 1838, he went to Brighton and stayed there for days or weeks, personally attending to a friend who was unhappily in a state of lunacy, but who had no claims on him beyond ordinary friendship. He also, I believe, gave large pecuniary assistance in this case. Another instance was that of a servant in his father's family, named Samuel Woolford, who was incapacitated from work by 'a bad leg.' Mr. Hope himself dressed the poor fellow's sores, taught him ciphering, &c., and enabled him to improve himself so as to be advanced from his original position to that of confidential clerk, in which he long served his benefactor, and was much valued by him.

From Mr. Hope's religious diary of the year 1839 (the last of that description which has been preserved) I transcribe the following paragraph:—

Oxford, Dec. 22 [1839]. For W. A[dams] and other our F[ellows] of M[erton], may God, as far as I can judge, be praised; and may He, in all things appertaining to the College

or any other great object, teach us continually to make known our wants to Him, and to trust altogether to His Wisdom and Mercy, not doing evil that good may come, but waiting patiently, in the course of our duties, till it please Him to bring things to a right issue! This is a hard thing, therefore pray often for it.

From a note in his registry of Communions for the second half-year of 1839, it appears that in the summer Mr. Hope had paid a visit in Holland to his friends the Thuns, who were then at the Hague, returning to London by July 28, and that he was in residence at Oxford from about August 25 till near Christmas. The early Communion at St. Mary's, Oxford, is mentioned for many weeks in succession: Merton College Chapel on Advent Sunday.

CHAPTER XI.

1839–1840.

Commencement of Professional Practice—Counsel for the Cathedral Chapters in the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill—Mr. Hope's Speech before the Lords—Specimens from it—Opinions on the Speech—Mr. Hope appointed Chancellor of Salisbury—Beginnings of Trinity College, Glenalmond—Mr. Hope's Negotiations—Correspondence with Mr. Gladstone on this Subject—Tour on the Continent—Dr. Pusey's Commissions, &c.

MR. HOPE'S residence at Merton in 1839 was probably too frequent and too continuous to have been compatible with a very considerable amount of legal business; to which also, as we have seen, he long felt himself much disinclined, in consequence of the more powerful attraction of other real or supposed obligations. Still, to a certain extent he was practising at the Parliamentary Bar, and his reputation for talent, learning, and high principle was no doubt making itself felt, especially in high ecclesiastical quarters. His position as a Lay-Fellow of Merton College, and the great influence he had gained there, as also his special study of collegiate foundations, could not but be well known to all whose interest it was to find out the fittest defenders of the cathedral establishments, which were then threatened with very sweeping legislation.

The great political changes of 1831 had unsettled men's minds generally, and, due as in great part they

were to the Nonconformist element, which about that time showed much energy, they naturally began to affect the ecclesiastical part of the social structure in England. The splendour of the cathedral services, subdued though it was in comparison with the Catholic ritual, the elaborate music, the wax candles, the stately architecture, the ample revenues and haughty exclusiveness of the great prebendaries—all these things caused jealousy in a large section of the community, outside the Anglican Church ; and a considerable body, even inside it, looking to what they felt to be a great and crying evil, the lack of ministers in the large parishes or their insufficient pay, were more and more disposed to favour any plan of utilising, in that direction, the tempting store of the cathedral endowments. The suppression of the ten Irish bishoprics in 1833 was a collateral movement on which it is needless to enlarge. Accordingly, as is well known, the enactment styled the *Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill*, first mooted in 1839, was brought forward the following year with the object of cutting down the cathedral establishments to a minimum, and placing the funds thus saved in the hands of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for the augmentation of poor livings and increased parochial supply. This scheme was of course regarded by the cathedral bodies as a very tyrannical stretch of power. They did what they could to save themselves, and the Committee of Cathedral Chapters showed their wisdom in this extreme need, when they chose Mr. Hope to plead their cause before the House of Lords as junior counsel (the other counsel were Mr. Knight Bruce and Mr. Wigram). Dr. Chandler,

Dean of Chichester, was, I believe, the first to propose him to be elected. Mr. Badeley (the simple earnestness of whose friendship for Mr. Hope must not make us forget that he was then a very rising lawyer, as he afterwards became a very distinguished one) also exercised an influence, suggestive at least, in the same direction. The affair, so far, was soon settled, and Mr. Hope was named junior counsel in this great cause in May 1840, he being then only twenty-eight years of age. As may easily be supposed, he felt somewhat nervous at the prospect of essaying, in such a field, his almost untried arms, but applied himself vigorously to the task of preparation in his dearly-loved retreat at Merton College; and Mr. Badeley, like a faithful esquire as he was, set all his learning at work, and offered to send all his library down to Oxford, if need were, to equip his chief in all points for the battle.

The Case against the Bill was drawn up by Mr. Hope, and this, together with the speech he delivered before the House of Lords on July 24, 1840, will always remain as important monuments in Anglican Church-history, and as in themselves admirable examples of pleading. The young advocate's whole heart went with his clients: the charters of foundation, going back to the days of the Plantagenets, of which he still held, practically unshaken, the belief that the existing Church of England was the true representative; the grandeur of the choral services maintained by the cathedrals, their kindly connection with education, and, in general, the image which they still presented of the heritage left by the ages of faith, had peculiar charms for Mr. Hope's

mind, which rendered him, perhaps, the fittest man in England to have saved, had it still been possible, institutions doomed, if not to the axe, at least to a most unsparing and unscrupulous use of the pruning-hook. In order fully to appreciate his speech, one would need to enter into the passions of the time when it was delivered, which is difficult for a reader outside of the Anglican Church, and nearly half a century distant from the occasion. Still, it immediately appears to be an argument in which the strong points are brought out with great force, marked throughout by that effect which the moral and religious character gives to intellectual ability, and, in some places, rising to a strain of true eloquence Mr. Hope skilfully disposes of the precedents which might readily have been alleged out of the Statute Book, from the suppression of the Templars down to the Tudor spoliations, and founds a telling plea on the rights of property supported by an excellent judgment delivered in a kindred case by one of the great judges of the American Republic. He presents temperately, but ably, those objects of their foundations which he contended cathedrals, as they then were, did effectively realise; and he draws, with great rhetorical power, the effect which the proposed measure would have in disturbing for the future the charities of those who were acting on the faith that what they instituted would be respected by legislatures that would come after them. I quote this portion of his speech nearly in full, as being perhaps the most striking, as well as the earliest specimen of his oratorical ability:—

My Lords, it therefore only remains for me to point out to

you the effect of passing this Bill. It is strange that I should have to quote at the bar of the British House of Peers, in opposition to the recommendation of a Royal Commission, the dicta of a republican judge upon a point of constitutional justice; and yet so it is. I have upon the authority of a republican tribunal, by anticipation, condemned your Lordships' House (I speak of the condemnation of that learned judge, not of my own) of a direct breach of contract, of an open departure from national good faith, if you shall disturb these foundations. Had the word of the nation been pledged with one half the earnestness with which a continual course of legislation has pledged that word to these founders, and in reliance upon which they went to their rest,—had you, I say, made any such distinct promises to another country, would you not have kept those promises? You would, for you would have feared their armies. Had you done so to the national creditor you would have kept them, for you would have feared that the public credit might suffer. But these men are gone to their graves; their voices are silent, they cannot complain; their arms are nerveless, they cannot be raised to threaten you; you have nothing more to hope from them, and nothing to fear; and, *therefore*, you will not keep your plighted word with them. Is this our British honour? Is this our national faith? But it is not only for the past you will be acting. In adopting this Bill you will act also for the future. You will tell the people of this country that, in respect of any property with which it may please God to entrust them—any property which they may acquire by inheritance, by gift, or industry—that property they may waste in folly, in vanity, and in sin; so long as they do not break any of the laws of the realm. You will tell them that in respect of this same property they are welcome, in England, to settle it for a certain number of years upon their descendants, in order that they may make a like use of it, and that in the northern parts of this kingdom they may tie it up for the same purposes 'as long as trees stand and waters flow.' You will tell them, I say, that all this is open to them, but that if they dare to be unselfish; if they dare to lift their

eyes from the ground on which they stand; above all, if they presume to offer anything to the Majesty of Almighty God, that thenceforth they shall have no voice in the matter; that you will scatter their purposes to the wind; that you will generalise their most definite intentions, so that they could not themselves recognise them again; and that to those foundations which they may design, foolishly design, to be memorials of their love towards man and their zeal towards God, to the remotest generations, you will allow no more ancient date than that of the last Act of Parliament which may have reconstructed them; no better history than that of the passions and prejudices, the wants and interests which may have struggled for their reconstruction. My Lords, I do not say that it is the highest and purest faith which will impose conditions upon its gifts. I may think that the man who brings his offering to the altar with no other hope than that God will accept it, is doing more than he who stipulates with the Church for its distribution. But you are not dealing with perfect beings; you have to do with mixed minds, and you must humour what is not evil in them in order that you may encourage what is positively good and righteous. And, my Lords, remember you are sanctioning these principles not for this kingdom alone. This little island is but the centre, the nucleus of a mighty empire; and therefore, when the noble-minded and pious Bishop of Calcutta shall have established the cathedral which he is now founding; when he shall for it have denied himself the conveniences of life; and at his death shall have left his church joint-heir with his own blood; then some modern reformer will arise, will point to the gross idolatries of the East, will cite the precedent of this unhappy measure, and will seize upon the foundation of this pious man, then gone to his rest, and will scatter it in miserable handfuls over the vast plains of India.

These, then, are the consequences which will result from this Bill if passed by your Lordships. And, my Lords, what is the inducement to it? Is there any inducement to be offered, except the annual sum of some 130,000*l.*?—a sum equalled, if not exceeded, by the private incomes of some of your Lordships.

This sum, then, if you pass this Bill, is to be henceforth the bribe for which we are to be ready to resign our national good faith! This is the price at which constitutional principles may hereafter be bought! (Pp. 73–5.[1])

To give an idea of the extraordinary impression made by this speech, I refer to Mr. Gladstone's letter (in Appendix III.), and to others which I subjoin. But it would be sufficient to mention a well-remembered anecdote that Lord Brougham, at the conclusion of the speech, emphatically exclaimed, 'That young man's fortune is made!'

E. Badeley, Esq. to the Hon. Lady Hope.

Temple: Friday night [July 24, 1840].

My dear Lady Hope,—The eventful moment is passed, and I cannot allow myself to sleep without conveying to your ladyship my heartfelt congratulations on the honour that James has just won by his incomparable speech before the House of Lords. It is quite impossible for me to do justice to his brilliant efforts; but this I may truly say, that a speech more full of deep and extensive learning, more rich in eloquence, more cogent in argument, more fervent with religious ardour, was never uttered in that House. . . . The delivery of it was in entire accordance with its intrinsic excellence, and characterised by all that grace and dignity of manner which became the subject and the speaker. It was in all respects worthy of James; and, as you know my love and admiration of him, you will also know that my praise cannot rise higher. I am most thankful that his talents have been thus called forth on a matter so worthy of them, and that he has had physical strength to carry him through his labours. He spoke for three hours. The

[1] *Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill.* Substance of a Speech delivered in the House of Lords, on behalf of the Deans and Chapters petitioning against the Bill, July 24, 1840. By James R. Hope, B.C.L., Fellow of Merton College, Barrister-at-Law. Published by the direction of the Committee of Chapters. London, Rivingtons, &c.: 1840. 8vo.

House was not full, but the attendance of lay Lords was much greater than last night when Knight Bruce spoke, and the Bishops were very numerous. Many of them, as well as of the lay Lords, came forward to shake hands with him, and to thank and congratulate him as soon as he ended. He was most attentively listened to, and most of those who were present when he began, continued to hear him to the end. The Duke of Wellington was not in the House at all, which I much regret. Lord Lyndhurst was there for some time, but he, I believe, allows nothing to interfere with his dinner, and would go away though an archangel were speaking. Lord Brougham listened most attentively to the whole speech; and Lord Devon told me before James had half got through it, that he was satisfied he was making a very effective argument. In short, nothing could have been better in every respect. James did not appear at all nervous; he was perfectly fluent; never at a loss for a single word, and each word seemed the right one. He read a most valuable lesson to the Bishops, and I hope convinced them that the lofty tone of sound and high Church principles is in fact the language also of the most practical good sense. Once more let me offer my most sincere congratulations to you on this event. You are indeed happy in having such a son; and most thankful am I for the blessing of such a friend as James. May God ever bless and preserve him is my daily prayer, and may your ladyship long be spared to witness his prosperity! Pray present my best remembrances to Lord and Lady Henry Kerr, and ever believe me, my dear madam, your obliged and faithful friend and servant,

E. BADELEY.

Frederick Calvert, Esq. (Q.C.), to the Hon. Lady Hope.

My dear Lady Hope,—It is very near post-time, but the post must not go without a letter of congratulation on Jem's complete success in the House of Lords. Matter abundant, good arrangement, uninterrupted flow of excellent language, manner of the very best description. The whole performance as perfect as even *you* could desire. The effect upon his

audience was plain enough. The noble lords seemed to forget the dinner hour, and remained in considerable numbers with fixed attention till the very close. Indeed the speech was most gratifying, and if his good father could have lived to hear it his heart would have been gladdened.

Your Ladyship's very faithful,
in great haste,
FREDERICK CALVERT.

6 St. James's Place: July 25.

Mr. G. W. Hope's letter on the same occasion may be added to the testimony of strangers, as that of a man not likely to be carried away by mere impressions :—

G. W. Hope, Esq. to his Mother, the Hon. Lady Hope.

14 Curzon Street: July 25, 1840.

My dear Mother,—I write a line to tell you that Jem's success in his speech last night was *complete*. His matter was good; it was well put together, and it was very well delivered. This I have no hesitation in saying, even did my opinion rest on my own judgment only. I have it, however, also on the authority of persons of all shades of politics, from the Bishop of Exeter to Mr. Brotherton; all of whom, including Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham, &c., bore ample testimony to the learning and ability of his argument. . . .

Yours affectionately,
G. W. HOPE.

Lady Frances Hope writes to Lady Hope, a little later :—

. . . Lord Aberdeen has been here. He heard the last two hours of [the speech], and said it was most able. I cannot tell you the pleasure I have felt in this brilliant success of dear Jem's—more than I have felt about anything for very, very long. One's first wish and thought is, that those who are gone could have shared this pleasure, and have seen this fulfilment of what in the first days of my marriage was so strongly foretold of Jem's talents.

The Right Hon. Lady Montagu to the Hon. Lady Hope.

Curzon Street, 25 [July] Saturday.

My dear Lady Hope,—I cannot help sending one word (though doubtless you will hear enough from others), having most fortunately taken courage to attend the House of Lords for six hours: three, Thursday, when a speech was made by the first counsel [Mr. Knight Bruce], good in its line, though *dry*, but just enough to prepare one all the better for the second counsel, Mr. Jem—who really, I must say, did you great honour. His clearness of statement, his perfect mastery of his subject, his eloquence (and his research to enable him to make such a speech) altogether was most striking; . . . if one adds to that the evidence he gave of speaking from the heart. . . . He had great attention paid him. One could not but greatly regret the Duke of Wellington was not there, for, though the speech will be to be read, it is not quite the same thing as hearing it all out of the mouth of so young and interesting-looking a personage, whose manner gave strength to all he said, for his eagerness was tempered with *perfect* respect to those he addressed. In short, nothing could be better. . . . Pleasant things are not heard too often, so I make no excuses for giving you the reading of this in addition to the praises of the rest of the party.

Yours, my dear Lady Hope,
Most truly,
JANE MONTAGU.

Many other letters of congratulation have been preserved, which would be of sufficient interest, either because of their writers or for the remarks they contain, to deserve quotation, if space permitted. All show very high admiration, and that cordial delight at his success which is unconsciously the highest tribute they could have given to the character of their friend. Among

these may be named the Rev. G. A. Selwyn (afterwards Protestant Bishop of New Zealand), Dr. E. Denison Bishop of Salisbury), Dr. Buckland, Lord President Hope, Sir Francis Palgrave, President Routh, Baron Parke (afterwards Lord Wensleydale), &c. &c. But I doubt if the young advocate received from any of them such pleasure as he must have felt on reading those I could not give, which conveyed the 'parent's praise and sister's smile' on this early and memorable achievement.

The Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill received the Royal assent on August 11. No one had expected that a measure so completely pre-determined could have been thrown out by any talents, but such a defence of a failing cause amounts practically to a victory, so far as the champion is concerned.

A month had scarcely elapsed after this display before the House of Lords, when Mr. Hope was raised to one of the most dignified positions in connection with the Anglican Church which can be held by a layman. On August 25, 1840, his friend, Dr. Edward Denison, late Fellow of Merton, Bishop of Salisbury, appointed him Chancellor of that diocese, an office doubtless the more acceptable to him as being of a semi-clerical kind, giving him *stallum in choro* to the extreme east on the precentor's side of the choir, over which is inscribed, in ancient characters, 'Canc. Diœc.,' the right to wear a surplice in the cathedral, and to have a processional place with the Chapter. Its emoluments were not large, but it constituted him the bishop's legal adviser, and a very important judicial personage

in all ecclesiastical causes coming before his Courts.[2] These causes, indeed, do not appear to have been numerous or weighty, and other duties, such as attendance at visitations and consecrations of churches, are mentioned as formal rather than otherwise. The more important duties, however, went beyond mere official routine, and involved, I think, a greater amount of business than might have been expected from this general description, questions being continually submitted for Mr. Hope's opinion by the parochial clergy themselves. If the correspondence connected with these came within the range of this work, no doubt many scraps might be gleaned from it which would interest the general reader, as illustrative of the affairs of the Established Church at the time, in relation to parochial and diocesan law. But it will be evident that all such matters (even if leave to make use of the papers were obtained) would be quite outside the scope of a biography like the present. From this time forward, then, the Church affairs of Salisbury occupied for some years a large part of the leisure which Mr. Hope could spare from rapidly accumulating Parliamentary business, and often obliged him to visit Salisbury, where the Palace had no more cherished and honoured guest.

In the summer of 1840 I find the first notice in Mr. Hope's correspondence of an undertaking to which for two or three years subsequently he devoted much of his time, thought, and charity. This was the institution

[2] I notice that a writer in the *Quarterly Review* of that time (September 1840), speaking of Sir Samuel Romilly's appointment by Bishop Barrington as Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham, calls it 'one of the most honourable distinctions of the profession.'

which, after many efforts, was prosperously established under the name of Trinity College, Glenalmond, in Perthshire, for the education of the Scottish Episcopalian clergy, and of the gentry of that communion. The Episcopal Church in Scotland had early attracted the attention of the Tractarian party in England. Its sufferings in the cause of legitimate Royalty, its preservation, in the midst of a dominant Presbyterianism, of many of the old ideas which were dawning upon Oxford as discoveries; its liturgy, which upon some eagerly discussed points was conceived in a higher tone than the Prayer Book of the Church of England; and finally, its independence of State-control, were advantages which the Oxford movement, in its earlier stages, looked upon with a wistful eye. Its poverty, which was severely felt by this Scottish communion, could not but excite the sympathy of those in England otherwise disposed to regard it so favourably. At that time, so poorly off were some of the Scottish Episcopalian congregations, that their bishops had scarcely the remuneration of English curates, and there was such a deficiency of means for the education of their ministers that, in the large towns at least, they were frequently supplied from England. It was natural, therefore, that the idea of a great collegiate institution for this struggling little sister-Church would find no lack of supporters among the Anglicans on this side the Tweed. The original deviser of the scheme seems not distinctly known; but whether the thought of it first occurred to Mr. Hope or to Mr. Gladstone is of little consequence; they certainly were the two leading spirits from whom it started, and by

whose joint labours all its early difficulties were overcome. Mr. Gladstone's letter to Miss Hope-Scott, so often referred to, contains some very interesting information on the subject; and there exists, among Mr. Hope-Scott's papers, a large mass of correspondence with Scottish Episcopalian bishops and other principal men of that communion, full of business details connected with the same great undertaking, which would be out of place here, though I should have been glad to have given in full, as a useful *praxis* of such affairs, Mr. Gladstone's most masterly sketch of the plan of contributions, &c., for the proposed College. However, I shall only state that, towards the end of August 1840, Mr. Hope, accompanied by Mr. Badeley, proceeded to Edinburgh, to make preliminary arrangements for the intended foundation, for which great interest had already been roused in England, by circulars issued to every promising quarter. Mr. Hope was at once made a Vice-President of the 'Episcopal Lay Committee.' He addressed a letter to the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal communion, setting forth the views of the movers, in which their desire of obtaining Episcopal sanction to the scheme appeared most prominently. An Episcopal Synod was accordingly held on September 2, at which a deputation was received, including, with Mr. Hope, Dean Ramsay, Rev. Alex. Cheyne, Hon. and Rev. John Sandilands, and others. The Synod accorded warm thanks to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hope for what they had done. A Synodal letter was promised in approval of the plan; a committee named for Scotland, and Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hope empowered to form one in

London. Mr. Hope's tact and judgment seem completely to have won the confidence of these grave and cautious dignitaries. I may notice, further, a letter addressed by him to the Bishops, in explanation of the design, of which the leading ideas are: an Eton on very moderate terms, for the Scottish Episcopalians, and education pervaded and penetrated by the principle of religion. I am thankful to be able to quote so much from Mr. Hope's correspondence with Mr. Gladstone on this point as may place the reader still more fully in possession of the views of the former in founding such a college, having already illustrated so copiously his ideas of reforming one, and shown the extent of those researches from which both plans were derived, or largely coloured.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.

Merton College: September 6, 1840.

Dear Gladstone,—[After discussing the plans to be adopted in the first instance, as to subscriptions, &c.:]

Secondly, as to the institution itself. Your scheme, as far as it goes (and perhaps it goes far enough for any person's purpose), has little in it which I would wish altered. I think it well, however, while I have a leisure moment, to suggest the following points:—

(1) The Oxford system of tuition is exposed to the defect which arises from frequent changes in the whole number of those charged with tuition in a college. It has the advantage, on the other hand, of that vigour and elasticity which arises from its being conducted successively by young and earnest men who know the wants of their own day, and bring the best and newest forms of knowledge to bear upon their pupils. To meet these circumstances, a mixture of the professorial and tutorial system is now generally relied upon, and I think justly.

We should therefore, I think, propose to have in the new college two or three well-endowed offices, compatible with marriage, to which the more important lectureships should be annexed, while the tutors' places should be in the nature of fellowships voidable by marriage, and not so amply provided for as materially to counterbalance this objection.

By this arrangement we might hope to secure both a permanent and systematic method of professorial lectureships and of discipline and active catechetical teaching besides.

And this arrangement as to the tutorships seems to me to have this further recommendation in regard to the present state of the Church in Scotland—viz. that it will afford the benefit of these endowments successively to a much larger number of her ill-provided clergy than would be the case if they were tenable by married men.

The provision would be such (and for that purpose it need not be high) as to make these places desirable to the best young men amongst those educated, either at the college or elsewhere, for Holy Orders, and to enable them, by a few years' saving, to provide themselves with furniture, &c., when they settle to a cure.

In the first instance, perhaps, you must take men on a higher salary; but I think the permanent scheme should not contemplate above 100*l.* or 150*l.* per annum, with rooms and commons, as a tutor's provision.

(2) The nature of the institution requires us to solve that problem, in these days so difficult, how young men of different ranks and fortune shall have the benefit of a common education without allowing the growth of habits which will be injurious to one or other class—and particularly how the clergy shall receive a strict clerical education in contact with, and yet without being secularised by the laity.

Following the models, then, at least in a general way, I should recommend that up to the age of twelve or thirteen, every boy who comes to the institution should be treated precisely in the same way; that they should sleep in large, open bedrooms, that their food should be extremely simple, that

either identity of dress should be required, or at least all smartness in the richer boys repressed. That at the age above-mentioned those boys who are designed for Holy Orders should be separated from the rest, should lodge with the other students in divinity of whatever age (all of whom should continue the same mode of life as I have pointed out for the boys), should have their studies made to bear more particularly upon their future profession, should be instructed in chanting, wear surplices in chapel, and read the lessons, have shorter vacations, and be made to feel throughout that they are under a different discipline. The lay boys at the above age should be continued much upon their previous plan up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, after which I should be strongly indisposed to keep any boys not designed for Holy Orders, unless it were as gentlemen-commoners with separate rooms allowed them, and at such a rate of payment as would secure the number from ever becoming very large.

These latter, if there should be any, might either be boarded with the married professors, or dine at the high table with the tutors, and should be kept as much as possible distinct from the clerical students; though of course this separation should be rather in the general mode of life, than by any rule forbidding intercourse. I know that advantages are supposed to result from familiar habits in early life between the young gentry and the young clergy, but as regards personal character, undoubtedly, I think, to the detriment of the latter.

You will perhaps also think that the exclusion of lay youths after fifteen years of age, except as gentleman-commoners, is unnecessary, but if the clergy are to be our chief care, I think this almost inevitable.

Between the gentlemen-commoners and the clerical students rank and fortune will help to keep up a difference of habits and ideas, but a large body of lay-commoners would, I think ruin our ecclesiastical school.

As part of the project for clerical education, do you not think it would be very desirable if the Church in Scotland would confer one of the minor orders (say that of 'Reader,'

as the least offensive), at the age of nineteen or twenty, or perhaps earlier? I do not think that this could be much objected to.

Lastly, if the education of the laity after fifteen should be considered as a great object, it should be sought by means of a separate establishment like a hall or large boarding-house, with power of frequenting the lectures and chapel, but otherwise no part of the college.

For this no endowment would be required. Perhaps it might be expedient also to place the gentlemen-commoners in this separate place, if it were instituted. But at any rate I am clear about the commoners.

For the further encouragement of divinity I think it might be well if some provision were made by which senior men, both those who had previously been at the college and others, should be enabled to reside at the institution for a time, having access to the library, and being allowed to dine at the high table, &c.

These remarks I believe are all that I have at present to offer. They are perhaps more in the nature of details to be hereafter wrought out, than parts of a preliminary sketch. But I am accustomed, in college statutes, to see details so nicely devised, and am so well convinced of their importance, even when apparently formal only, in determining the tone and character of an institution, that I think it well that, if correct, these views should be borne in mind from the outset. . . .

By the way, I have forgotten to say that I have spoken to Hamilton, and think it hopeless to get him for our warden (pray let 'warden' be the name—it is the oldest).

Yours ever,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Hawarden Rectory, Chester: September 8, 1840.

My dear Hope,— . . . I should certainly endeavour to dissuade you from thinking of so large a donation as you seem to intend from yourself,[3] were I not sure that in every case such an act sows most providently for the future.

I agree very much in the general spirit of your remarks respecting the details of the institution, and in most of the observations themselves. I think, however, that it would not be wise to separate the clerical pupils so soon as you propose. For fifteen or sixteen I should say seventeen or eighteen, thinking it advisable to keep lay boys until the natural age for their repairing to the Universities; I am rather persuaded that their last years at the college would be the best; but if it were not so, we might discourage their remaining a little, by taxing them higher. Neither do I like the proposal that the exhibitioners who are to be candidates for orders should sleep in a common apartment. I think that a certain measure of privacy is very advisable and very sacred for persons who have grown to the full use of their faculties. I have been considering the education of the laity all along, not only as a great object, but as quite co-ordinate to the other in importance and greater in *bulk*. A very small establishment indeed would enable you to educate as many candidates for orders as the Church in Scotland is likely for some time to require; but without such a school for the laity as we contemplate, I think the means for extending Church principles in Scotland will be greatly crippled; for at present the clergy are without *access*, almost, to the gentry, unless in a few exceptional cases. I am afraid that your plan of early separation would startle people much, and should wish the general aspect of a school to remain elevated indeed, but undisturbed. There is no such separation as you mention in the Anglo-Popish colleges, I believe: and surely it is early enough at seventeen or eighteen. . . . Believe me, my dear Hope,

Your attached friend,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[3] See ch. xiv.

Soon after the date of the above letter, Mr. Hope's professional pursuits sustained another interruption, which lasted for many months. His health having for some time been unsatisfactory, a change of climate and scene, especially after his recent exertions, was thought necessary; and he accordingly set out on a tour in Germany and Italy, accompanied, in the first part of the expedition, by Mr. Badeley, and in the second (which included Rome) by Mr. Rogers (afterwards Sir Frederick Rogers, and now Lord Blachford). His object in this journey was not health alone; he proposed to take the opportunity of studying with great care the organisation of the Catholic Church in the countries he visited with special reference to canon-law, to the constitution and working of cathedral bodies (evidently having in mind his new duties as Chancellor of Salisbury), and to the government of seminaries and other collegiate institutions, as well with a view to his great historical undertaking, as to the Scotch College, on which he continued to correspond during his travels. The subject of religious art and the collection of engravings of that class was another important purpose of his journey, which he hoped to turn to account for publications connected with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He further made it his business to purchase books, partly to form the basis of a library for the Scotch College, partly to oblige friends, Mr. Newman (who wanted 50*l.* worth of divinity from Rome), and also Mr. Stewart, the well-known bookseller in King William Street, whose rich stores he much frequented in the days when, as I have heard him boast, he himself

was 'a collector.' Finally, he was charged with an important literary commission, to see after the collating of certain MSS. at Rome and elsewhere, for the 'Library of the Fathers,' then in course of publication by Dr. Pusey. The following is the first letter on the subject which I find in the correspondence :—

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to J. R. Hope, Esq.

[Oxford: September 12, 1840].

My dear Hope,—I only mentioned to you probable places yesterday; but I may as well add that there is a place, somewhat out of y^e^ way, I fear, very rich in old Latin MSS. at all events, Monte Cassino. I do not know whether it is on any road to Naples; it is much inland, just within the Terra di Lavoro. A splendid list of MSS. of y^e^ 11^th^ and 12^th^ centuries has been published by 2 Canons—one, Saint-Yves, S. Ludovici Francorum *Romæ* Canonicus (who m^t^ perhaps tell you something about them, if you were to see him): the other, Caillau, Canonicus Honorarius Cenomanensis et Cadurcensis (it seems there is a precedent for 'honorary canons'). They are probably better judges of MSS. than of S. Augustine's style; as what they have published as a supplement is not thought to be his. They only specify y^e^ MSS. out of which they extracted y^e^ sermon wh. they published; but they mention generally 'antient MSS. of Chrysostome, Origen, Augustine, Leo, Gregory, and others,' & some Greek sermons of S. Chrys. w^h^ we have as yet only in Latin.

Perhaps you c^d^ find some German, when at Rome, who, if his expenses were paid, w^d^ be glad to investigate such treasures & tell us y^e^ result.

These Editors refer to Mabillon as giving specimens of MSS. of diff^t^ ages: some are very difficult to read.

With every good wish,
Your very faithful friend,
E. B. PUSEY.

I have not thanked you for y^r^ speech; I have heard much

of it, & liked much what I read, but have been so busy that I have not yet read it all.

I named the Monte-Cassino MSS. also to Blaydes, student here, in case he sh[d] be able to do anything about them. I mention this in case you sh[d] hear of him; he has only recently taken his B.A. degree.

In a letter of Mr. Newman's to Mr. Hope, dated 'Oriel, Feb. 11, 1841,' one of Dr. Pusey's is quoted, bearing on the same subject generally. The passage is as follows:—

> But first as to Pusey's [commission]. He says: 'My want at Rome is the transcript of a fragment of Tertullian de execrandis gentium Diis from the Cod. Vat. 3852. It has been published, but is not in any English library, nor to be had. The person whom M. Abeken employs will know about it, for he sent me word of it. Kindest thoughts of Hope and Rogers.'

A pretty copious diary was kept by Mr. Hope of this tour in its two divisions, from which I shall make large quotations, omitting, however, many dry legal details, which could have little interest except for a very limited class of readers. The diary is unfortunately defective in places, and breaks off very abruptly at a point where we should most have desired the fullest information. To a certain extent I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency by extracts from his correspondence.

Before starting, Mr. Hope went through the ceremony of his installation as Chancellor of Salisbury, of which he gives the following characteristic description to Mr. Badeley:—

J. R. Hope, Esq., to Edw. Badeley, Esq.

Palace, Sarum: September 14, 1840.

Dear B.,—I received grant and seizin (by a shilling) of my Chancellorship on Saturday, and attended the cathedral yesterday, where I occupied my own stall in a surplice and hood, being preceded to it by two vergers. The case of a lay Chancellor rather puzzled people, and my B.C.L. gown seemed to some the right dress; but I was positive for the surplice, and feel convinced that it is the right thing. Singing-men, you know, wear them, and I am full as ecclesiastical a person as they. All the confusion arises from the disuse of the tonsure and the minor orders. . . .

Yours ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

E. Badeley, Esq.,
Temple.

On September 21, Mr. Hope and Mr Badeley reached Dover, and on the following day, Ostend. They then proceeded on their journey, by Liège, Cologne, Frankfort, and Nuremberg, to Munich, arriving at the last-mentioned place on Tuesday, September 29. At the commencement of the diary we find them at Coblentz.

CHAPTER XII.

1840-1841.

Diary of Tour in Germany and Italy, 1840-1841—Nuremberg—The Frauen-kirche — Lutheran Churches — Munich — Drs. Windischmann and Döllinger—Notanda on Church Affairs of Bavaria—The Estatica of the Tyrol—Dr. Windischmann on the English Church—Art in Munich—Turin—Count F. Thun—Mr. Hope's Kindness to an Invalid—Milan—Manzoni—The Jesuits—Confession—Church Affairs of Lombardy.

GERMANY.

Coblentz, Sept. 24.—In the Eilwagen from Coblentz to Frankfort, met an educated young man, apparently intimate with many of the officers whom we met on our way out of the town. Asked whether Strauss had any followers there? 'Es bewahre!' was the reply. 'But Hermes?' 'Ah, yes, many. All the "Aufgeklärten," including many young priests.' 'But his principles are, at bottom, the same as Strauss?' 'No, no, Strauss goes too far.' 'But Hermes has been condemned by the Pope.' 'What care we for the Pope?' He said, however, that the Hermesians did not give unnecessary publicity to their opinions. (Substance of conversation.)

Nürnberg.—Of a population above 40,000, it is said only 4,000 R. C. with one church, under the Bishop of Bamberg.

Sept. 27, *Sunday.*—Being uncertain as to the relative position of the two Communions, I resolved to attend both, not, however, designing more than to hear the sermons. Went accordingly at 9 A.M. to the Frauen-kirche (the only R. C. Church, and that, I was told, only conceded about A.D. 1817). Some previous service was unfinished when I went in, but soon after, preparation was made for the sermon. The church filled

rapidly, and a priest appeared in the high stone pulpit. He began in the name of the Blessed Trinity, and declared the need in which we all stood of the help of God's Holy Spirit, which he therefore prayed us to invoke. This was done in a hymn accompanied by the organ. After this, he read the first eleven verses of Luke xiv., and then proceeded to preach upon the subject of the first six—viz. the observance of the Sabbath. He began by describing the formalism into which the Jews had fallen, which made it possible that such a question as that in ver. 3 should be asked; and then he said, to avoid the possibility of similar questions amongst Christians, he would explain the obligation of the Sabbath. He then traced its first origin to the rest after the creation; its confirmation and full establishment to the law; its present day and character to the apostles, showing the selection of the day to have arisen from the Resurrection and the Descent of the Spirit. He pointed out its beneficial purposes both for soul and body, giving a priority to the latter as (in their kind) most necessary, but insisting on the impossibility of safely following them, without some countervailing spiritual discipline. The mode of observing the Sunday, he said, resulted from its purposes, a mixture of religious exercises and innocent amusement. The former, he showed, should be chiefly, though not solely, carried on in church, and spoke eloquently of the claims which that holy place has upon us—our baptism, our communions, absolutions, marriages, &c.; and then of the direct blessing, attendant on the meetings of the Church, the living presence of Our Lord under the form of bread; the authority of the priesthood; the brotherly sympathies of one assembled family; and urged these against the pretence of prayer at home. (It put me in mind of S. Chrysost. ap. Bingh. 20, c. 2, s. 11.) He also alluded to the practice which he said existed of master-manufacturers carrying on trade either the whole or half of Sunday, and warned them that God would not give His honour to another. The whole was well arranged, and, with the exception of those passages relating to Transubstantiation, such as I would gladly often hear in England. The language was more

generally sensible and manly than eloquent; the manner was artificial, but not *very* disagreeably so, and was dignified. The preacher was some thirty-eight years old, or less. While actually preaching, he wore the clerical cap, but put it off when he paused; and (I think) did not wear it while reading the text. After the sermon, he announced the hours of mass, prayers, &c., published banns, and then recorded the deaths which had taken place during the week, commending the deceased persons' souls to our prayers, adding (as I understood him) a particular reference to the ensuing mass. After this, the consecration of the Host ensued. I could not see the high altar, but joined in the hymns, which I read from a neighbour's book, and which related to different parts of the service. These were in German, and of a wholesome, devotional kind. The same book contained German prayers. I followed in general the attitudes of those among whom I was, though there seemed a want of uniformity as to kneeling or standing. Bowing the head at Our Lord's name and using the sign of the cross are surely better than Popish.

The singing was general and manly; the people *fairly* attentive. In the chancel the stalls were occupied by women of a higher rank. There was a full proportion of men present. The church was not large, but has a good deal of beauty about it, as well as curiosity. Alms were collected during mass.

At 2½ P.M. went St. Laurence, which (with the remaining churches) is Lutheran. It is a very fine church, as is St. Sebald's—and in both of them painted glass, pictures, crucifixes, figures of saints, side altars, &c., have been preserved. Indeed, it would appear that crucifixes are a Lutheran ornament, for one, at least, seemed new. On the high altar, candles were lighted (as I had seen at St. Sebald's in the morning), and continued so during the service. The congregation was small, and clustered round the pulpit (Do. at St. Egidien's Kirche). The service—a hymn, a sermon with a prayer and the Lord's Prayer, another hymn, and a blessing. An old lady lent me a book, but I could not follow the singing;

it was apparently in short verses, with the organ alone between, but the latter was too loud to allow the voices to be distinctly heard. The hymns, of which I heard several, were not so much to my mind as the R. C. The preacher was a middle-aged man with a good many rings on his fingers. His dress a black gown with full sleeves close at the wrist. He preached an earnest and fair sermon from the end of ch. 5 and beginning of ch. 6 of the Galatians. His manner also artificial, but inferior to the priest's. The congregation attentive. The head bowed (at least by some) at our Lord's name. The names of sick persons mentioned to be prayed for.

Apparently a new pulpit and altar, both richly carved in stone. English Protestantism would stare at the decorations of this church.

September 28, *Monday morning.*—St. Sebald's bells going at 7 o'clock. Asked Hausknecht, who said there was a service, including sermon, every morning in the week at one or other of the Lutheran churches. Scantily attended, he said—otherwise on Sunday mornings.

Note.—No Jews may live in Nürnberg. Fürth their residence.

A funeral procession passed the window (Protestant I conclude). Women with baskets of flowers preceded the corpse, which was carried under a pall of black, with a large white cross. Carriages followed. We were told that flowers were used for all ages, but the colours vary for old and young; the former, if very old, quite white; the latter, if in youth, having more bright colours than in middle age. 'Spargere flores' is their purpose, as the relations take and strew them in the grave.

Munich, Feast of St. Michael.—Arrived in the forenoon. After dinner, called with Count Senfft's letter upon the Abbé Windischmann,[1] and found him upon the second

[1] Dr. Friedrich H. Windischmann, Canon of the Cathedral of Munich. Works of his, previous to this date, are: *Sancara, sive de Theologumenis (Sanscriti) vendaticorum*, Bonn, 1833; *Vindiciæ Petrinæ*, Ratisbonæ, 1836; and later, *Erklärung des Briefes an die Galater*, Mainz, 1843.

floor of a house called *Sagkleibngarten* in the Fürstenstrasse. He is a man apparently of thirty-two or thirty-three years old, with a pleasing if not handsome countenance. The tonsure; and his dress a long clerical cassock buttoned down the front. He received me very kindly, and immediately began the conversation in English, which he spoke not quite accurately, but with great ease and fluency, owing, as he told me, to having mixed a great deal with the English at Bonn. We soon fell upon the subjects of interest to me, for which I had chiefly sought his acquaintance, and a two hours' conversation ensued.

Remember to send Dr. Windischmann a copy of 'Tertullian,' when printed; also Jacobson's new ed. of 'Patres Ap.;' a *Scotch* Prayer-book for Dr. Döllinger; also mem. Bannatyne books for him.

On the following day [Sept. 30] I again visited M. Windischmann, and on the day after we took a walk together. On Friday, Oct. 2, I went to the Library to inquire about collations of MSS. for Dr. Pusey, and finding that Dr. Döllinger had directed them to be undertaken, I called upon him. Seeing English books in his room, I began the conversation in my own language, and found that he spoke it as fluently and more accurately than Dr. W. A short conversation told me the history of the collations, and I left him with an invitation to come (with E. B[adeley]) to meet Dr. Windischmann the next evening, and with a letter to the Director of the Seminarium Puerorum, whither we proposed going the next morning. On Saturday morning [Oct. 3rd] we started, armed with Dr. Döllinger's letter, and with one from Dr. W. to the Director of the Seminarium Puerorum, for Freising, and reached it (after a cold and slow drive) about 11 o'clock. That evening we returned just in time to spend a couple of hours with MM. Döllinger and Windischmann. The next morning [Oct. 4] being Sunday, I went to sermon at the cathedral at 8 o'clock. On Wednesday morning [Oct. 7] we visited Augsburg by the railroad with Dr. Windischmann, returning in the afternoon with a purchase of old books. The next morning [Oct. 8]

bought more books, &c., &c. Called on Dr. Döllinger and saw his library. The next day saw Chor Director Ett about old church music. Professor Döllinger visited me before starting, and we left Munich for Innspruck at half-past one on Friday, October 9.

Notanda at Munich.—The following are my notanda upon the subjects which came before me at Munich :—

The condition of the Church in Bavaria is determined in its chief features by the Concordat of 1817, and by a subsequent Religion's Edict of the State. Of these the former is printed in the Appendix to Eichhorn's 'Kirchenrecht,' and both in a small *Bibliothek* of Bavarian law, which I purchased (*quod vide*). The terms of the Concordat are considered by W. a masterpiece of Papal policy, as there was a strong Jacobin party about the then king, and he was himself not well disposed to the Church. His minister, who conducted the transaction at Rome, was also a man of indifferent character, but at the same time he seems to have had sufficient feeling for his own order (he was a bishop) to dispose him to assist the Church. It is said that the greatest surprise was created by the Concordat being such as it was, under such circumstances; but the adverse party contrived to procure a law of the State very shortly afterwards, which has materially impaired its efficacy. Under the latter, the Royal Assent to Church edicts became necessary (I must read it).

According to the terms of the Concordat, Bavaria is divided into two archbishoprics and six bishoprics. The chief archbishopric is of Munich and Freising, the latter being the ancient see. The other is of Bamberg; and each has three suffragans. By the same instrument chapters were provided for; [of the constitution of which, and particularly of the various capitular assemblies of Munich, a long account follows. Under the latter head Mr. Hope remarks, *inter alia*: 'The ordinary appeal court is from the suffragans, but there is in each archbishopric another appeal court which sits (under commission from the Pope) upon appeals from the other archbishopric. This expedient reconciles the Papal authority with other neces-

sary conditions of such a jurisdiction in the present state of the Church']. In each chapter there are (by the Concordat) a Theologus and a Pœnitentiarius. Of these, the former (at Munich at least) is at present a nominal office. There are no archdeacons either here, or, it is said, in any part of Germany (perhaps a few exceptions may be found); and, though there are rural deans (in Munich and F. thirty-two), they have no ordinary jurisdiction, but are used by the bishop chiefly as commissaries. They are elected by the clergy of their several deaneries, who meet annually to celebrate mass for their departed brethren, and otherwise to keep up intercourse among themselves. The appointments are generally but not necessarily permanent. [*Note*: All profits of episcopal jurisdiction go to the payment of expenses of courts, &c.—none to the bishop's own advantage. Some voluntary taxes of clergy. Inquire further about this power of episcopal taxation.]

The whole diocesan power is lodged in the bishop, and though the acts of his vicar-general and official are not revocable, their appointments are. There is a prison for the correction of the clergy, which is occasionally used, or they are sent for discipline to a seminary. In very bad cases (as in one lately) a priest was discarded by the Church, and left to his own devices. The only way in which 'unclerical' conduct, not in direct violation of the canons, can be remedied, is by admonitions, which, if slighted, will render the party guilty of contumacy. No formal proceedings are necessary by the ecclesiastical law, but these are usually drawn out in case the civil authorities should be applied to for redress.

The Concordat also makes provisions for clerical seminaries and monasteries. Of the former there is one in each diocese, but they differ in respect of endowments and internal arrangement. That of the diocese of Munich and Freising is at the latter place; and I paid a visit there to both the directors of the Semin. Clericorum and Puerorum. It was vacation-time, and both the institutions were unoccupied; but I procured a good deal of information there, and from W. (who, as a member of the vicar-general's court, has to do with the management of

them). The Semin. Cleric. is in the old bishop's palace, which communicates by a gallery with the church. The Semin. Puerorum is in a house which belonged to the chapter of a dissolved foundation on the same hill or eminence at Freising. The situation of both is very agreeable. Owing to various obstacles on the part of the government, it is only since 1827 that these establishments have existed in this diocese, and they are still inadequately supported.

Their sources of revenue are—1. Government grants. 2. Legacies, &c. (which to the Semin. Pueror. have been considerable). 3. Tax of the clergy in terms of the Council of Trent. The Seminar. Puerorum takes boys of ten, and keeps them till they have done with the gymnasium or classical course, i.e. about 18 years of age. The education and board is gratuitous (altogether, I think), and it is *hoped* the boys will eventually take orders, but no positive stipulation is made. Such things as bonds have been thought of, but are considered inexpedient. There are vacations (which is against the clerical education), and in going to the gymnasium they mix with other boys, which also has a bad effect. The discipline seems to be regular, but not severe. Silence is occasionally practised. Between the Semin. Puer. and that Cleric. there is unfortunately a gap which causes great inconvenience. The philosophical studies which follow the gymnasium have no provision made for them, and the candidates for Holy Orders must therefore either pursue them in the Lyceum at Freising, or in the University at Munich. . . . Many live about in the town, where they find employment as tutors in the burghers' families; some also get into the Royal Convictory there. The Seminarium Clericorum thus becomes only a finishing school. It lasts only for nine months, during which period the sub-diaconate and diaconate are given, and at the expiration of which the priesthood is conferred. On entering (about November), the *Exercitia Spiritualia* of Ign. Loyola are used, and this discipline lasts (I think) for three days; after that, a course of regular instruction in the practical parts of the clerical life ensues. The hours I have a paper of (which see). The discipline is not severe,

the chief trial being that of never eating before eleven in the day, which is considered a necessary habit of abstinence on account of the celebration of mass and other clerical duties in the forenoon. Chanting and the ritual are taught, the latter with vestments, chalices, and the like. We saw even a doll to teach baptism by; and after the diaconate (which is conferred about six months after entering) preaching is practised. Schools, too, are visited, and some visit the sick in the neighbouring parishes. Spiritual exercises of various kinds are combined with these instructions. It is of course obvious that this course is of too short duration. The director said that two years were what was required, and mentioned some scheme of the kind in another diocese. Disputations are not practised, and the Director Riedel expressed his fear of the bad effects of them on the dispositions of the parties, in which I cannot but (to a certain extent) agree. I fear the schoolmen were arrogant fellows. Dr. Herb (the Director Puerorum) thought that the evils in former days were overcome by greater moral culture —but read A. Wood's account of such things at Oxford. The students sleep several in a room, have studies in the same way, and dine in hall.

Of the monasteries I saw nothing, being assured that they offered little worth seeing. The king being bound by the Concordat, and otherwise well inclined to restore this part of the ecclesiastical system, has done so—but in a *bruggsamen* [ready-made] kind of way; and as W. well said, this will not do with such institutions. The purposes of monastic bodies are defined in the Concordat (*v. locum*) to relate to education and parochial assistance.

Dr. Riedel at Freising spoke of the existing state of education as very bad, and that the government was beginning to admit it, contrary to their former notions. He considers the parochial clergy insufficient to carry on an educational system, and that it is absolutely necessary to have corporate bodies, an opinion which I afterwards heard confirmed, and which is worth considering seriously. A young person whom I afterwards met in the diligence between Munich and Innspruck told

me that she had a sister in a convent at the former place, and described the occupation of the nuns as an alternative between prayer and teaching, female schools being connected with the nunnery.

Of monastic institutions in general W. spoke with great respect, considering the monastic life as a very happy one, and the existence of such asylums in all ways desirable. He also looks for the introduction into common life of a portion of their spirit. At the same time, viewed as instruments of the Church, he thinks that most of the orders are now of little use. Those of the Jesuits and Redemptorists, with one or two more of the same kind as the latter, he conceives to be the only effectual orders. What I saw and heard of the Capuchins at Innspruck makes me think that they may be added to the above; and *Sœurs grises*, and other similar female societies for charitable purposes, must also be admitted amongst the number of available instruments. Jesuits there are as yet none in Bavaria. . . .

The difficulties arising from the gap in clerical education above mentioned are severely felt. There is, moreover, a great want of clergy, the profession not being very popular, though supplied chiefly from the lower orders. The only sermon which I heard was a very poor one, but the preacher was not the one usually employed in the cathedral (where note, that the canons have no duty of preaching, but it is done by salaried lecturers or preachers). It was in defence of the prayer called *Rosenkranz* [Rosary], and consisted chiefly of an apology for the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Angelic Salutation of B.V.M. The church on that occasion (Sunday, 8 A.M.) was very well attended, and the congregation listened very carefully to the sermon. The clergy are not much seen in public. There are here, as elsewhere, favourite preachers, as I discovered from my female travelling companion, who was loud in favour of the one she prefers. She was of the *Bürgerstand*, and described the habit of women of her class to be to go to church, not every day, but two or three times in the course of the week.

The shops are shut only during part of Sunday, but manual labour is for the most part suspended.

[After some details on the social effects of the civil law of marriage in Bavaria, and its discordance with the law of the Church on the same head, Mr. Hope continues:]

The same burial-ground, too, is provided for all creeds and communions, and is considered a municipal matter. Besides which, the large question of the limits of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction frequently occurs in a disagreeable form. The chief grievance, however, seems to be that of the necessity of regal concurrence in all *new canons*, even a bishop's rule as to the fasting in his diocese. W. seemed to think that the Church had done all that was required of it in the way of concession, and that the time for resistance was nearly come. The prospect, however, at present is rather promising than otherwise, owing to the disposition of the reigning prince.

Of Prussia and its 'State religion,' both W. and D. spoke strongly and contemptuously, especially of the inconsistency of obliging the old Lutherans to emigrate for not conforming to the new creed of the king's invention. Of [Bolzano], W. spoke much as S. had done in London. D° M. at Milan. In speaking of Hermes,[2] both W. and D. expressed their belief that his followers were comparatively few; in Bavaria, none. W. told me that his father[3] was Hermes' chief opponent, and that Rome consulted him with regard to the condemnation. Bolzano's[4] opinions D. said were absolutely heretical under previous declarations of the Church. Of Hermes, W. and D. both spoke as foolish attempts to reconcile a philosophical rational-

[2] G. Hermes died 1831. The Hermesian system was condemned by the Holy See, September 26, 1835. Vid. Alzog. *Hist. Univ. de l'Église*, tome iii. § 410. [I refer to the French translation by MM. Goschler and Audley, 2nd ed.]

[3] Carl Jos. H. Windischmann, *Mediz. Rath* for Rhenish Prussia, and Professor at Bonn, died 1839.

[4] Dr. Bernh. Bolzano (born 1781, died 1848), formerly Professor of the 'Science of Religion' at Prague, whose opinions seem to have made some noise there about that period. Among his works is named: *Lehrbuch der Religionswissenschaft. Vorles. an einer kath. Universität gehalten*, which was condemned at Rome.

ism with Catholicity [qu. accurate ?—J. R. H.]. Jansenism D. said was reduced to (I think) some 3,000 in Belgium.

Of exorcisms, and miraculous as well as other spiritual agencies, W. spoke with a readiness which showed that the subject was much in his mind. He was anxious we should visit in the Tyrol a person whom he described as in continual ecstacies,[5] and upon whom constant meditation upon Our Lord's agony had had the effect of producing the stigmata upon her hands. His account of her state was very similar to that which is given of cases of (so-called) somnambulism ; and he admitted that such conditions were in great part physical ; but that their turn for good or evil depended upon a spiritual agency. Far be it from me either to deny or to assert positively in such cases. Dr. Riedel (of Freising), W. said, had performed notable exorcisms.

In conversation at supper at Dr. Döllinger's, both he and W. spoke of the confessional, agreeing that it gave a better rather than a worse idea of human nature. W. spoke of the immense relief experienced by persons after a general confession. I answered that I feared their doctrine was too comfortable. Both agreed in preferring Estius to Justinianus as a commentator upon St. Paul ; and to Maldonati, D. said that he preferred Lucas Brugensis for the gospels. Both also strongly recommended Raymundi de Sabunde *Theologia Naturalis*, Venice 1581. They said that most of the clergy have something of the Fathers upon their shelves. Fasting, as far as Germany is concerned, seems to be made as easy as possible. The only case of rigorous habits which I heard of was that of the Bishop of Passau, who never eats till the evening, and then frugally. W. read me portions of a letter which he had received from this prelate. It was written as a primitive bishop might have written in times of persecution. He spoke of the gloomy prospects of the Church, of the people crowding

[5] Maria Mörl, the Estatica of Caldaro. See 'Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Phillips, Esq., descriptive of the Estatica of Caldaro, &c. London: C. Dolman, 1842,' also Allies' *Journal in France, &c.*, pp. 140, 154. [Brussels: J. B. de Mortier, 1850.]

round him, as though conscious of impending evil, of his resolutions to make the cross his citadel whence to carry on the war which he felt approaching.

Of our Church W. spoke with interest; said he was strongly opposed to O'Connell's way of proceeding, because he thought that the destruction of our Church would be the breaking down of the bridge by which Protestants may pass back into the Church of Rome. We have a hierarchy, he said, and a doctrine of the sacraments, and a deference for authority, besides orthodoxy as to the S. Trinity, and all these are wanting amongst the manifold opinions of Germany. I mentioned a probable union with the Greeks, and he said that there was a general feeling amongst the remaining orthodox Protestants that England must be their centre. He spoke particularly of a learned Swede (I think) who had expressed this view. Of the Greeks who have preferred 'the knout of a barbarian to the Pope,' he spoke strongly. In speaking of the differences between us and the R. C., he was disposed to insist more upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, and upon that of the relation in which the B. V. M. stands to the Church, than upon that commonly deemed the chief—viz. the Papal authority; but I could not allow his position that the R. Church is the only one which feeds continually upon the blessed Elements, and I instanced the plain intention of our Liturgy, with the fact of our weekly communions. Of the B. V. M. I did not venture to speak, as I do not know enough of the primitive doctrine. Only I cannot think that the Litany which is used by the R. C. would have pleased in the third century.[6] When I spoke of the abuses of such practices amongst the people, he assured me that the truest views which he had ever met with were amongst the common people.

Both W. and D. are men whose acquaintance I am very glad to have made, and hope to keep. The latter I trust will

[6] For an instructive discussion, bearing indirectly on this point, see an essay by the late Rev. J. B. Dalgairns, published as an introduction to the English translation of the Countess Hahn-hahn's *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert*. (London: Richardsons, 1867.) Pp. l.-lxviii.

be in England next autumn. There is about him a simplicity of thought and manner which is most agreeable, and which suits well with his great learning. His knowledge of books seems to be really astonishing; and his own library shows signs of it, being very extensive and comprising excellent books. He has undertaken to form a small collection of Canon-law for me, for which I left 17*l.* in his hands. He gave me the last published part of his 'Manual of Eccles. History,' and also a copy of the 'Missale Mozarabicum,' which he said he would send to England with my other books.

Another acquaintance which I made at Munich was that of Professor Schnorr, the painter (through Dyce), and I saw his pen-drawings in illustration of the Bible. They are very magnificent. Mr. Wilson afterwards told me he thought them near Raphael. Schnorr himself is a very pleasing person, and so is his wife. I cannot say that I was much taken by the display of art at Munich. The churches are the only things which I thought really fine: first, the Au-Kirche, then the Allerheiligen, then the Ludwigskirche; the new Basilica, I do not know what to make of. The painted glass in the Au-Kirche is very good.

In M. Oldenburg, at Kotta's Library, we found a most valuable friend. He undertook the transmission of our books to England, and was civil in a hundred ways. I hope through him to be able to procure cheap and good lithographs for the S.P.C.K.

I left Munich with much regret, and shall be very glad to go back there.

The following scrap of a letter to his mother, dated 'Munich, October 5, 1840,' will give a further idea of Mr. Hope's observations and pursuits during this part of his tour:—

We have not been very diligent in the usual sights here, as I had a letter to one of the canons of the Cathedral, and have, through him and otherwise, found many things of more

interest to attend to. . . . One cannot, of course, help being struck with the lavish expense bestowed upon art of all kinds in this capital. New buildings, statues, frescoes, paintings, abound to a wonderful extent; and it is said there are not less than 500 artists of various kinds who manage to subsist here. I cannot say that I either like to see so much care bestowed by a king upon such things, or that I admire the taste of all that is done; but some things are very beautiful, and the whole gives an impression such as one usually derives only from the description of times long since gone by. Whether this state of things will continue after the present king's death is a question which many have no small interest in solving, but which seems a difficult one. There is no wealth amongst individuals capable of sustaining such a system; and it is to be doubted whether the constitutional tendencies of modern governments will allow of the public money being for any length of time applied to such purposes. There are, however, many considerable works now in progress, and which will last for some years. Those will, at any rate, be finished.

The matters which have engaged my attention more particularly are, as you may guess, ecclesiastical; and I hope I have derived some valuable information from my stay here. The R. Catholic Church is not in a very flourishing condition in Bavaria, but it has institutions and customs to show which give an English Churchman good instruction as to Church discipline in general. On Saturday [Oct. 3] we went to Freising, the former seat of the bishopric, in order to procure detailed information about the institution for the Education of the Clergy which is there. I was very well pleased with the result of our visit. I have also made some valuable acquaintances in consequence of some inquiries which I had undertaken respecting manuscripts in the library here. And lastly, I am in good hopes of doing something towards the advancement of a scheme for providing cheap and good Scripture prints upon which I have been for some time engaged in a Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—I have nothing more to do than to thank you for the kind pains which you were at, at Munich. S. Cyril is not published, but neither is it wanted, so soon as S. Chrysostome; since y^e^ translation having been published without y^e^ Collations, the text will do at one time as well as another. For the Chrys. it w^d^ be desirable to obtain the Collations, so as to settle the text, as far as may be, before y^e^ translations are published. I understand, then, from your letter, that I have nothing to do, but to let them go on, as they are doing, & S. Chrys. will be collated.

I have but to-day seen a book wh. I fear it will be difficult to obtain, Blume, 'Iter Italicum' (in German). It gives so full an account of Italian libraries, tho' not much of their contents, that it makes one long to have 100 hands at work in them.

An account of a MS. of Tertullian wh. I have to-day seen in Denis' Catalogue of y^e^ Codd. Vindobonenses, mentions its having come from Italy, that it belonged to a monastery in Naples, and that it was transcribed from a MS. in Lombard characters. This w^d^ be a treasure, if it still existed.

The people at Milan seem very lazy; they must have been some months in collating for the President of Magd. a treatise (the de oratione) which I suppose might have been collated in a few hours. Reay wrote for me thither, for a collation of the 'Apology,' but I have not heard with what effect.

I have encumbered Rogers' baggage with Ebert's 'Handschriftenkunde,' wh. seems just y^e^ book you were enquiring about when in O.

This note is sadly about business; but it has been delayed until y^e^ last evening; & Rogers can tell you about people & things here.

I am very glad that you are seeing so much of the R.C.'s. One wishes that they knew more of our Church, & we more of y^e^ better among them.

There seems a fair prospect of a beginning being made

towards having 'sisters of charity' in our hospitals, but we are left to make our way alone; they will not help us, tho' their long experience w[d] be of so much use. One feels painfully in such cases how much we are severed off.[7]

God be with you,
Your very sincere friend,
E. B. PUSEY.

October 23 [1840].

I had almost forgot to tell you, not to let your zeal to serve me and the fathers interfere with your own objects.

As will have been noticed, the travellers left Munich for Innspruck on October 9. From thence they proceeded to Milan; and after staying there about ten days, Mr. Badeley having to return to England, Mr. Hope accompanied him to Genoa (October 20), and thence to Turin, remaining at the latter city some days longer, his chief object in going thither having been to see his friend, Count Frederick Thun, attached to the Austrian Embassy there. Mr. Hope then returned to Milan, where he arrived on November 6, and was joined on the following day by Mr. Rogers. They had intended going on to Verona, Venice, &c., but the state of the weather prevented this. While, on November 18, Mr. Rogers left for Genoa, Mr. Hope made a further stay of some weeks at Milan, in consequence of the illness of a ward of his father's, whom he met there. This young man, named Watson, was dying of consumption; and, with his usual self-sacrificing kindness, at considerable risk to his own health, and to the derangement of a tour which had been intended for

[7 And (once for all) it would have been a great want of charity on the part of Catholic religious, if they had acted with their Protestant imitators in such a manner as to ignore this spiritual separation.]

almost indispensable relaxation, Mr. Hope devoted a great part of his time to the personal care and nursing of the invalid. The 'Diary,' from which I have already quoted so largely, is resumed at Milan and at Rome; the remaining entries, however, which it contains, include only about six days. As to the former, the article of most general interest is a notice of a visit to Manzoni. Very detailed information is also given relative to ecclesiastical affairs in Lombardy. The most valuable portions of these papers appear to be the following:—

MILAN.

Nov. 6 [1840]. Called upon M[anzoni] the second time. He was in Town. Believes that the Jesuits are really in earnest, but thinks that they use politics as a means. Says that all who have left them like them, and speak well of them. Mentioned an instance. It seems that up to a certain period of the Novitiate the novices may withdraw, and for a certain period after that they may be sent away. In the case mentioned the person had passed the former period, but having a disinclination for the life, he stated this to the Superior, who bade him go in peace. He, M., spoke of the hardships they submit to, e.g. public confession in the presence of the brethren, as evidence of sincerity; and quoted the dying declaration of Ricci (qu. ?), who was General at the time of the dissolution, as to the groundlessness of the charges against them. He thought they were disposed, like other benevolent people, to an exclusive feeling, i.e. a dislike of other methods of doing good which differ from their own.[8]

[8] These remarks of Manzoni's are obviously almost all in favour of the Society, with just sufficient qualification to make the evidence of a witness of his class the more valuable. Still, the following observations, for which I am indebted to a friend, may serve to correct any erroneous impressions. 'If the Jesuits "use politics as a means," it is as everything else in this world should be used, namely, as a means to the end for which God created

At Rome he leads me to expect great openness, though he says that even among R. C. a different opinion prevails, which he attributes to the remains of Gallicanism.

He asked me what I thought of confession. I said, except as imposed of necessity, I thought it excellent. He said that he himself had a great repugnance to it, and did not confess as often as he ought; but he describes the comfort of it to be such that, even in a selfish point of view, he would do better to practise it more regularly.

He touched slightly on the Fathers, and when I told him of W. E. G[ladstone]'s love for St. Augustine, he expressed his satisfaction at the agreement of taste between himself and him. G. seems to have made a strong impression on him; he speaks often of him.

The state of the clergy, it seems, is daily becoming more dependent. Oaths are required of them in petty cases of excise, as that a person is too poor to afford a stamp. Again, a priest lately, having received a confidential communication from a parishioner (not in the confessional), refused to divulge it to the civil power, and was punished. All such intercourse, it seems, has a sacred character.

He was busy reading Harris' 'Hermes,' in a French translation, not knowing English. I undertook to procure him Horne Tooke's '*Ἔπεα πτερόεντα*,' and any other similar works, which he said he should divide among his family, to be translated for him. He had just had Rolandi, a London bookseller, with him, about a new edition of the 'Promessi Sposi,' with vignettes—the only way, he said, of providing against piracy in Italy. I left him in the hope of soon seeing him again,[9] and with a letter to Abate Vitali.

Nov. 7.—Called upon M. Carlo Czoernig, Secretary of the

men. "Public confession in the presence of the brethren" only refers to omissions of the rule. [See further, p. 255.] "A dislike of other methods of doing good which differ from their own" should be understood as a dislike to adopt for *their own* practice other methods than those provided in their own constitution—not a dislike to others adopting other methods.'

[9] See p. 250.

Lombardo-Venetian Government, with a letter from Thun, who had mentioned in it my wish for information on ecclesiastical matters. He began at once upon the subject. The present relations between the Church and the civil power appear to be of a very delicate kind. The Josephine laws extend to this as well as to other portions of the empire, but in the same lax manner, the government seeming aware that Joseph II. had gone too far, and yet not caring openly to disavow his proceedings. There are, besides, the remains of former systems, as of that which existed before the Revolution, when the Milanese was in a different state; then, the Concordat of the kingdom of Italy, yet unrepealed. Much, therefore, depends upon custom, and C. expressed the desire of the government to deal as fairly as possible with the Church. The clergy, he says, are wholly excluded from civil matters, instancing as a contrast the influence of the clergy in Piedmont in stopping the delivery of letters on Sunday. But these two points they have maintained here, and nowhere else in the empire—the refusal to sanction mixed marriages, and the resort of the bishops to Rome for consecration. As to the former, he says that in all other provinces of the empire no difficulties have ever been made by the R. C. clergy, but the great prevalence of the R. C. here has produced a different state of the question; and consequently parties wishing to contract such marriages go into some of the German provinces, remain for six weeks, so as to satisfy the law of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and are there married. . . . Again, as to consecration—this the German bishops are also properly held to, but on account of expense, &c., it is dispensed with. But in Italy, the reasons from distance not existing, it is insisted, though not in every case, . . . that the bishop elect should go for consecration to Rome.

Nov. 10.—Having been the day before at the Pro-Cancelliere's office, I arranged to go again with Rogers to see the work of the office on this day. We remained several hours there, and had a great deal of conversation. This department relates to the *personnel* of the clergy. All the steps of the ecclesiastical life have their forms in this office; so, the insti-

tution to benefices, the issuing of pastoral letters, and the like—all, however, pass through the secretariat also. I am not quite clear about the division of labour, but discipline is exclusively in the secretariat. . . . The Vicar-General seems to have hardly any distinct province, but represents the Archbishop when absent and assists him where needed; but the Archbishop is very active himself. The whole staff of officials is twelve, which is supported out of the archiepiscopal revenues, with some assistance of fees. The whole expense is put at 20,000 francs, of which the Archbishop has to defray 12,000. There is at present no Chancellor. The diocese is divided into vicariates, which seem to answer to our deaneries rural, but which have no ordinary jurisdiction. There are besides civil officers appointed by government for the care of the temporalities during vacancy. . . . There are above 2,000 clergy in the diocese. Some of the livings are very good—10,000 francs. The chapter preferments are not rich, and are as much rewards for deserving priests in their old age as anything else. The Archbishop has 150,000 francs per annum. . . . The clergy are chiefly from the bourgeoisie. There used to be four, and are now three seminaries in the diocese. The grammar seminary has been given up. The Gymnase, Lyceum, and Theological seminaries remain. It is not necessary to have been in the two former, but the latter is indispensable for orders.

In a subsequent conversation with the Archbishop, he. . . . spoke of the odd appearance to him, when he first arrived, of so many children in the clerical habit, even playing 'avec les petits polissons dans les rues.' There is no inducement to the early adoption of the clerical habit of a direct kind, except when it is assumed (with the tonsure) for the purpose of holding a *simplex beneficium*. Indirectly, however, it is valued by parents as preparing their children's minds and accustoming them to circumspect conduct.

Nov. 14.—Went to the Archbishop's secretariat, where I found the Secretary, Sign. Francesco Agnelli, and the pro-Secretary, Signor Carlo Caccia, both of whom I had before made acquaintance with. My object was ecclesiastical disci-

pline. This properly belongs to the Chancellor, but this officer having become infirm (he is since dead), it has been allowed by the pro-Chancellor (as Ambrogio Vitali told me) to pass into the secretariat, chiefly on account of the trouble and odium attending it.

The forum Eccl. does not exist anywhere in the Austrian dominions, having been destroyed by Joseph II. It does at Modena, and in Bavaria, &c. The method of discipline now in force in Lombardy is this: if a chaplain misconducts himself, his curate,[1] if a curate, the vicarius foraneus notifies it to the Archbishop, who issues a commission (informally by letter) for examination into the case. Moral certainty is obtained by whatever means the commissioner thinks fit; and he reports to the Archbishop, who thereupon, without any *forma juris*, inflicts what spiritual punishment he pleases short of deprivation of benefice. If a slight offence, reprimand; if more serious, suspension from his parish, which is sequestrated by the civil sub-œconomus, and a vicar maintained out of the profits. If still more serious, suspension *à divinis*, which prevents him from performing sacred functions, not only in his own parish, but anywhere. If this is insufficient, the civil power is applied to, that is, the Archbishop communicates personally with the governor, and requests the aid of the police to remove the clerk to a place of confinement. Of these there is one—a convent near Como—which is occasionally used; but there is a prison for all the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, provided by the government, on an island at Venice. To one or other of these the party is removed privately and respectfully, and there remains under the care of Capuchins till he shows signs of repentance, when he is gradually allowed to perform sacred functions, and finally released. If impenitent he may remain all his life. In the above cases the party retains legal title to his benefice, and retains a part of its fruits; but, if the case is such as to deserve it, privation of benefice takes place. This is done thus: the Archbishop,

[1 The word 'chaplain' here would seem to mean a curate in the ordinary sense, and 'curate,' a *curato* or parish-priest.]

having resolved on the necessity of the case, informs the government that he has named a Commission on his side. The government names a layman on the other, and these proceed jointly to an inquisition, which is made (to avoid scandal) in some other place than the parish, whither the party has notice to resort. This mixed Commission reports to the government, who forward the papers to the Archbishop, who decides thereupon and sends his sentence to the government, which confirms it, and it is then published by affixing to the doors of the Archivescovado, and of the churches of the parish, and of the Vicariat. This is a formal instrument: there is no appeal. This process is usually avoided by the voluntary resignation of the party, who may thereby obtain a slight pension from the benefice. In cases short of deprivation, i.e. in purely spiritual cases, there is an appeal from suffragans to the Archbishop, and from him to Rome. . . .

The degree of evidence and of punishment rests with the Archbishop in all cases except deprivation; but even in the latter the proceedings of the Commissioners are informal. It seems, however, that definite crimes must be alleged. In the case of general negligence the only method seems to be (as in Bavaria) by remonstrances carried on till the neglect of them makes the party guilty of contumacy, when he is punished accordingly.

While we were talking of these things, Monsignor Malacchia Mascheroni came in. He is Canon, Great Pœnitentiary, and Director of the Catechumens. He came about the case of a Jewish catechumen who was on the point of baptism. It seems that by the Austrian law a father may disinherit his son in case he apostatises from the Christian religion. The Jews have tried to make this law bear upon apostasies from their faith; and to prevent difficulties about this, the catechumen in question, who is a Hungarian, wished to go home to put some matters of property in safety before his baptism. In the conversion of Jews great care is taken to prevent hypocrisy. Four months of catechumenate must be undergone, during which time the party has a spiritual adviser assigned him (on petition)

by the Archbishop, and at the request of the latter has a protector assigned him from the police by the government to keep off any violence of his brethren. At the end of the four months, if the case appears to be a sincere one, the Rabbi and Council at Mantua are informed. They delegate a Jew at Milan to inquire into the facts, and an instrument is made, signed by the delegate and the party himself, as to the deliberate resolution of the convert, after which baptism may ensue. The Jewish conversions are few; those of Protestants, it seems, many. They come from Switzerland and Germany. With the the latter these forms are not insisted on.

Besides the Pœnitentiarius, who, as such, has all cases of morals referred to him, there are in the chapter the Theologus and the *Dottore prebendato*, who exercises *ex officio* diocesan functions, the former as referee in points of Dogmatic Theology, the latter in Ecclesiastical Law. Other members of the chapter are usually employed by the Archbishop, but not *ex officio*. The cathedral has a parish of considerable extent. The Arciprete is *paroco*, and has a good many curates. See 'Milano sacro.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1840–1841.

Tour in Italy, 1840–1841 Continued—Letter to Mr. Gladstone on Trinity College—Purchases of Books—Rome—Visit to the Father-General, S. J. [Roothaan]—Second Visit to the Same—The Jesuit Novitiate—Mr. Hope's Early Feelings about the Jesuits—Zeal of the Jesuits—Works Relating to the Society—Mr. Hope why disappointed with Rome—Asks for an Ecclesiastical 'Private Tutor'—Society in Rome—Roman Lodgings—The Rev. W. K. Hamilton [Bishop of Salisbury]—The Spiritual Exercises—Letter of Dr. Pusey—Interested about 'the R. C.'s'—Mr. Hope and the Trappists—Dr. Pusey's Advice as to Ascetic Habits and Society—Death of Mr. Watson—Mr. Hope returns to England—Recollections of Lord Blachford.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to W. E. Gladstone, Esq. M.P.

Milan : November 18, 1840.

Dear Gladstone,—I ought before this to have answered your letter, which reached me by Rogers, now ten days ago. My excuse is much occupation and less strength than is sufficient for all I wish to do. The principal subject of that letter is, however, seldom out of my mind ; and I rejoice heartily that you are moving actively in furthering a scheme which I feel to be so important. At this distance, however, and with so little information as to the state of feeling amongst the people on whom we must chiefly depend, I do not feel competent to offer much advice.

My chief anxiety continues to be that, 1st, the principal end of the Institution should be generally acknowledged to be ecclesiastical ; and, 2nd, that in its internal arrangements care should be taken that this ecclesiastical character should not be lost, and the young clergy sacrificed to the laity. In connection with the former point I somewhat dread committees and approval of rules by subscribers, and inquiries as to support from parents.

I should much prefer the first steps to be taken as for a clerical seminary, under the direct and sole control of the bishops, and then the lay part might follow after. This is the history of all our old foundations, and the great advantage of such a course is that it sanctions far greater strictness of discipline, and offers an objection, insuperable by all but violence, to the eventual secularisation of the Institution. Had Oxford not sprung up in this way I fear it would by this time have become a Lyceum or an Academy—in short, anything but what it is. I shall, therefore, be not a whit discouraged if the δεύτερος πλοῦς of the Clerical Exhibitions alone should be in the first place the only one open to us, but I shall rather look to this as the most promising form which the scheme could assume. Of course I say this on the supposition that, starting well with a large lay project, it will be difficult to exclude the lay principle of the day. But, as I have above said, I cannot presume to judge of this point with so little knowledge of the facts. As to internal arrangements I have already written to you at length. My views of the necessity of providing distinct systems of education for the clergy are much strengthened by what I have seen since I have been abroad. Were the foreign clergy to be educated as ours are, in the midst of the laity, I doubt it would soon show sad marks of decay; and, though our universities and schools are of a higher tone of religious and moral character than those of the Continent, yet I cannot but think that this in great part arises from the dilution into them of those ecclesiastical features which I would fain see preserved in their pure form, for the more perfect education of those for whose benefit they were originally devised—I mean the young clergy. While, therefore, I am most anxious to provide for as many different ages and classes of the laity as possible, I do sincerely hope that this golden opportunity of doing something towards erecting a clerical order, properly so called, will not be let slip. Unity of doctrine, obedience, simplicity of life, and other great gifts, seem so intimately connected with an organisation of this kind, that it is well worth the experiment in spite of prejudices. And even if the lay part of the plan should in some degree

suffer, yet in the first instance you would soon make this good by sending out into all quarters of the country men really qualified to be teachers.

I fear, however, that I am only putting difficulties in the way by these remarks, without offering any means of solving them. I wish heartily I was at your elbow, and could hear your countless arguments, and see the real difficulties of the case. But, as it is, I dare not go into details. . . .

Finding that theological books of some kinds are to be had cheap here and at Turin, I have thought it worth while to lay the foundation for a library for our new college, and I shall probably before long send home three or four cases full chiefly for this purpose.

And now I must tell you how much beholden I am to you for your introduction to Manzoni. He has treated me with the utmost kindness, continually referring to you, and speaking of you with much and real cordiality. He has charged me more than once to be sure to mention him to you when I write. . . . I have had, in all, three conversations with him, at one of which Rogers was present. In all we discussed theological questions more or less diligently. It is plain that he is much interested with what he calls the Oxford School, and thinks us fairly disposed for Romanism—but he is very little versed in our principles. His own ultramontane views are to me a good deal explained by the fact which he informed me of, viz. that he was at one time in a state of utter unbelief. . . .[1] He certainly is a most pleasing person. So simple—but I think (and so does Rogers) that his qualities of mind in regard to reasoning are not of the highest kind. What little I have read of his works confirms me; but he is very eloquent. He has (at my request) introduced me to some of the clergy connected with the Archbishop, and we have had some good opportunities of informing ourselves about the discipline of this diocese. I think we puzzle the ecclesiastics a good deal, but they are exceedingly kind, and very frank to us. The Arch-

[1] [And what more natural than for a stray sheep to be attracted by the voice of the shepherd?]

bishop having heard that we were here from his secretary, desired that we might be presented, and was surprised and rather incredulous when we denied that we had come abroad only to see the state of the Church, and alleged health as our chief ground. He is a pleasing old man—a German—and entered fully into the state of his diocese. . . .

I am in good hopes of getting an accurate knowledge of the Jesuits. What a noble theory theirs is! and I am very well disposed to believe that they are now endeavouring fairly to work it out. In Germany they are looked on by the R. C. as the restorers of the faith. . . .

Ever yours most truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.,
Fasque, Fettercairn.

On November 24 Mr. Hope, writing from Milan to Mr. Badeley, mentions among his purchases of books Roccaberti, 'Bibl. Pont. Max.,' meaning doubtless the collection entitled 'Bibliotheca Pontificia, in qua auctores qui pro sede Romana scripserunt,' &c. He commissions Mr. Badeley to send him various books for presents to his friends at Milan: 1. 'Newman on Romanism.' 2. A set of the 'Tracts.' 3. 'Palmer on the Church.' 4. 'Andrewes' Devotions,' *Greek and Latin*; Herbert's Poems, 'and any other good little book of devotions.'

On November 30, having travelled as far as Genoa with Mr. Watson, and thence by steam to Civita Vecchia, Mr. Hope arrived in Rome, where he rejoined Mr. Rogers.

ROME.

Rome, Dec. 2, 1840.—Between 2 and 3 P.M. went with Count Senfft's[2] letter of introduction to the College of the Jesuits. In the corridor, which is handsome, and furnished with pictures of members of the Society (besides one or two of our Saviour and the Virgin), there were several Jesuits, apparently lay-brothers, who seemed to act as porters. One of them was occupied in making rosaries with brass wire and beads. Having sent my letter up, I waited till the bearer of it returned and asked me whether I wished to speak with the Father-General or some one else. Having replied the Father-General, he led me along the corridor, and, unlocking a door on the right, took me up some stairs into an ante-room, within which was the room of the F.-G., the door between, open.

As we entered, a Jesuit stepped from within, and asked who I was. He then pointed to the interior, implying some occupation within, but presently came back again. When admitted I found a middle-sized room, with a large sort of president's chair and a business-table at one end, and a smaller arrangement of the same sort at the other, from the latter of which the F.-G. had risen to meet me. A pale and long face with a good forehead, an old-fashioned skull cap, and a black gown, were the first objects of attention in F. Roothaan. He received me with that grave politeness which marks the Jesuit, seated me beside him on a chair, made an offer to put down my hat for me, and began the conversation by asking me where I had made Count S[enfft]'s acquaintance? Presently he asked me how long I had been in Rome, and if I had seen St. Peter's? and, on replying in the negative, he advised me with some animation to be sure at first to avoid the great entrance, and to take the smaller door of Santa Marta, so as to see the interior before the exterior. We then spoke of the services which were likely to take place during the next three months; but I told him

[2] Count Senfft-Pilsach, an Austrian nobleman and diplomatist, who was an intimate friend and correspondent of Mr. Hope's. His influence was probably very considerable in giving a Catholic direction to his views.

that I was more interested in the permanent institutions of the Church, and spoke of the task the Society had before it in restoring the faith of Europe; adding, that I thought there was far more orthodoxy amongst us than amongst R. Catholics generally in Europe, particularly in Germany. 'Ah; Germany,' he said, 'was in a dreadful condition. Rationalism was the worm that was gnawing at it—people who would have religion only for the head and rejected the heart'—and mentioned Döllinger and Windischmann with praise. The latter he seemed to know about, and spoke highly of him, regretting that he had given up the Professor's chair. Education, he said, was the great instrument, especially in these very distracted times. It is said (he added) that a new generation must be formed; and this sounds well in theory, but how can it be accomplished? Till lately, there were on the surface of society men who had somehow imbibed good principles, and managed to keep society together, but now those who come to the top are altogether otherwise. And how to form a new generation in continual contact with the old? Their pupils might come to their classes, but at night they go home, and in their pensionnats (which could not embrace the mass of the people) it was impossible to prevent the parents coming every fifteen days or so. But they must do what they can, and trust the rest to God. I mentioned my visit to Père Lang and his college at Innspruck. He said it was a mere commencement, and spoke of their Society having no hold on Germany. In Italy I said that I believed indifference and infidelity were more to be feared than rationalism, and spoke of what I had heard at Milan. The latter place, he said, had also suffered from sects. I mentioned Manzoni with strong expressions of admiration. He too, he said, was 'revenu.' I told him Manzoni had himself given me his history. He asked me if I were not of Oxford, and whether it did not differ from the other university in not being so much given to physical science? I said it was so, and that I thought the effects were to be seen in that Cambridge was more affected by Methodism and German philosophy, whereas we were now insisting upon

Catholicism. He said we ought to be consistent. I replied we thought we were so. I said more than once that it was not with us a question of possibility as to certain doctrines, but of the fact of their being revealed. He said it could not be denied that the Church of England (*l'Église anglicane*) had been derived from Rome. I said we did not deny it, but that we could not away with the Council of Trent. He said argument was after all not the thing. Prayer and diligent search for truth were more likely. I said that in our liturgies we prayed for the Church Catholic, and I agreed that prayer was the best weapon.

I mentioned that I had intended to visit their college at Verona, and had hoped to see P. Odescalchi. He said he probably would have been absent in the discharge of his duties. I asked him to address me to some of the Society in order to see their colleges here. He named P. Glover (an Englishman) for that college, and P. Mazzio for the Collegio Romano.

He said he hoped he should see me again—that it would give him great pleasure—bowed me to the door, which was closed during our conversation; and, with salutations from two Fathers in the ante-chamber, I went out as I had entered.

In conversation his manner was natural and animated, but in taking leave the same softness of behaviour returned.

Dec. 15.—Visited the Father-General again (having in the meantime seen ——, who had neither given me much information, nor made an agreeable impression upon me). Being post-day I found him busy at his writing-table, the door shut, and two clerks at work in the ante-chamber. Thinking him busy I proposed going away, but he detained me, placed me beside him as before, and began a conversation by asking if I had written to Count S[enfft]? From that we proceeded to S.'s character, and that of his late wife. He described his conduct to her as beautiful. This led me to speak of the formation of character, and of the means used by their Society. I regretted that I could not see the Novitiate, which —— had told me could not be. He said it was not impossible, but that I could see nothing beyond what may be seen in the streets

when the Novices pass by. All is internal discipline. I asked if it was not a rule to force the Novices to practise the particular things they most dislike. He said it was; but that this was at the request of themselves usually made to the Superior in the way of a statement of the difficulties they felt, and a request for advice how to overcome them. The Confessional, he said, was never used for such purposes, but things said there were considered as never spoken. I asked whether (as Manzoni had hinted) there was not open confession among them, as in the primitive Church? but he said not, except in cases of scandal or offence, where reparation is publicly made, and the party offending is sometimes unexpectedly called upon to do so (say at meals, or any other time of meeting). I asked him whether, as a matter of policy, it was not unwise to stamp every member of the Society with the same outward manners, and urged the bad impression generally made by it. He said that it affected various people variously, and told me, with a good deal of humour, the story of the old man, the boy, and the ass, concluding that as it is impossible to please all, one must go quietly one's own way. The rules which they observed, he said, were those of the modesty of the hands and modesty of the eyes, giving for the former as reason, that it did not become an ecclesiastic to swing about his arms as a secular, and telling of a king of Spain who, seeing two clerks at a distance, at once decided (to the surprise of his courtiers) that they could not be Jesuits—his reason being that they swung their arms. For the modesty of the eyes he gave as reason the danger of letting them wander, and the argument that men devoted like the Jesuits to the service of God, ought, when not otherwise engaged by their duties, to give themselves to meditation.

I told him that, like many others, I had been born in prejudice against the Society, but was ready to shake it off. He said, 'not born, but instructed,' and that, considering how they were slandered, he could not feel harshly towards any one who had a bad opinion of them, excepting of course those who were in malice against them. I expressed my wonder at the

opposition and distrust the Society had met with. He said it was the Founder's desire it might be so, and mentioned his having appeared one day unusually happy, giving for reason that our Saviour had heard his prayer for persecution. The efforts, he said, which were made to malign them were incessant; and he mentioned that during their late efforts while the cholera was here (and which were incessant, and most devoted, as I heard in other quarters) people said: 'See what they do to gain influence.' Nay, in one case amongst the clergy (where, he says, they have many enemies) a priest said that their zeal arose from fear of the cholera itself, which, as it threatened death, made them anxious to make as much amends as possible for their sins. The same priest, he said, afterwards came for alms to their own door, was there seen to have the cholera on him, was immediately taken care of by the Father whom he addressed, and thus at length by his own experience was induced to believe their sincerity. I said again there were many good Catholics who thought their objects good, but who thought they mixed too much in politics as means; and I instanced Piedmont, where they were said to exercise political influence. 'How could this be,' he said, 'when their rules forbid them to meddle in politics? If, indeed, any one to whom they were confessors consulted them on cases affecting their consciences, how could they refuse advice?' But this was as priests, not as Jesuits. I mentioned, as I had before done to ——, my impression that they had lay associates in the world, but he denied it utterly, and I thought was rather offended by my pertinacity. Of course I throughout endeavoured to excuse the boldness of my inquiries, and I do not believe that he took them in bad part. I mentioned P. Barabère's promise of a copy of the new edition of the Institute. He said P. Barabère could not send it here, but that they had copies for sale, and that I might get one from P. de la Croix (which I did that evening for 5 scudi). He spoke of other works, such as 'Dallas,' and a collection of documents in which (I think) he said there was proof of the fabrication of the supposed edict of expulsion of the Jesuits from France by

Henry IV. The book lent me by M. Massarie he did not seem to know—also seemed uncertain whether it was one which he had long been in search of or not. Its title is:—

MEMORIA CATTOLICA
da presentarsi
a sua Santità.
Opera Postuma.
Cosmopoli, 1780.
Sm. 8°. Motto: Daniel c. 13, v. 43-4.
[By Father BURGOS.]

Massarie says it was written at the time of the suppression, and contains very valuable documents. *Note*: —— told me theirs was to be called a 'House,' not a College, because there are no lectures there, not a 'Convent,' because they are not monks, but regular clergy.

Friday, Feb. 5.—Called on the Father-General, having failed to see him the previous Saturday [Jan. 30, 1841]. He was not in his room, so I fell into conversation with one of the Jesuits in the ante-room till he came. When he returned he looked at me as if he hardly knew me, and said it was long since he had seen me. I pleaded illness and occupation. He spoke of the dampness of the climate, which I had discussed with the Father in the ante-chamber. This latter——

Here the Diary breaks off with a blank, and for the history of the rest of Mr. Hope's stay in Rome I have to depend on correspondence only. He remained there till Easter, 1841. His visit would appear on the whole to have disappointed him, nor is there much to show that his attraction to Catholicity at this stage of his Anglican life was deepened by what he saw in the Eternal City. It must be remembered, however, that during most of the time he was far from well. The weather at Rome that winter was very variable; much sickness prevailed, and from many allusions in his letters we find that he was suffering, almost continually,

from influenza and the depressing influences of the climate. The attention also which he felt himself bound to give to the dying invalid must have added to the mental and physical strain he was evidently undergoing. But independently of all this, he seems to have found much difficulty in accomplishing his great object, that of acquainting himself with the ecclesiastical system of the place in its interior organisation. On Christmas Eve, 1840, he writes to Mr. Badeley as follows:—

We arrived here on the last day of November, so that three weeks of Rome have already elapsed; but as yet I have but a poor account to give of my time, and I feel doubtful about its future disposition. In other places where I have been, my letters have produced immediate results; but here the extensiveness of the system, the occupation of the persons, and the general character of my countrymen have concurred to keep me still at a distance. Cardinal Lambruschini (one of Senfft's friends) I have seen once. The Father-General of the Jesuits twice, and have had most interesting conversations with him. Overbeck the painter I have also seen twice, and I have been exceedingly taken with him. But the only person who seems likely to be of any real service to me in ecclesiastical matters is Monsignore Baggs, the head of the English College, . . . through whom I am in some hopes of acquiring the means of informing myself. I have applied to him to furnish me with an ecclesiastical 'private tutor,' if such a thing can be had; i.e. some one to instruct me in the liturgy, explain church offices, courts, customs, &c. As yet I have not got the man, but even when I get him I suspect the information will be rather of general interest than directly useful to me, since the Popedom seems in Italy to swamp the whole episcopal system. However, we shall see. . . .

In the absence of other interesting employments, I have found myself, to my own surprise, a fashionable young gentleman

about Town. Lady Davy is here, and, having renewed my old acquaintance with her, she has been good enough to launch me in Roman society, and so I have been to drums and tea-parties innumerable. These amusements have one merit: they begin at or before 9, and end at 12. In other respects they are not disagreeable, though there is nothing remarkable about them. There are several sets of society here, e.g. English, Ambassadorial, Italian, Artistical. Of the three latter I see something. With the first, beyond former friends, of whom I find a good many here, I have no wish to meddle. In Abeken, a friend of Gladstone and Acland, I have made a valuable acquaintance, though unfortunately I do not see much of him. In several Italian families, in some of those of the Ambassadors, and in some English, there are also people whom I am glad to meet. Of the English clergy here I see nothing. . . .

Again, on December 29, to the same correspondent:—

We are going on slowly with sight-seeing—were at the Pope's Chapel on Christmas Eve, and much disappointed. To-day we are to hear a sermon at the English College on St. Thomas of Canterbury, who has been judiciously selected as Patron of the Congregation of Ecclesiastical Immunities. The ceremonies which I have seen as yet move me very little, and I am more struck with the Romanism than the Catholicity of the system.

I give the following letter nearly in full, as part of it presents a lively and amusing picture of the *ménage* where the two friends found themselves at that date in Rome; and the conclusion describes, very unreservedly, those feelings of disappointment which he had received from the earlier impressions of his visit. It is important to remark them, as they prove that his subsequent conversion was not due to any of those enthusiastic emotions to which such a step is often attributed.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. Walter Kerr Hamilton, Fellow of Merton College (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury).

Rome, 60 Piazza Barberini: January 18, 1841.

Dear Hamilton,—[After referring to some matters of business:] And now for some slight account of our proceedings here. Rogers and I are lodged in the upper part of the Town, in a corner house, 2^do^ piano, with two aspects to the sun. Our padrona is a fine-looking creature with the temper of a lioness. She has been twice very ill, from mere rage, since we have been here, and notwithstanding these warnings and some sage advice on my part, I am in daily fear of another 'arrabbiatura,' with its consequences—a fever. This lady rules us absolutely, but not harshly. Her late deputy, a very dirty, drunken maid, was more severe, and what with dirt, and what with neglect, tried our temper sorely. However, she ventured one day to trifle with the padrona, and in five minutes was turned out of the house. Besides these personages there sits in the doorway of the house a thin, spare 'scrivano,' who is in great favour with the padrona, who affords him this kind of lodging in return for making out her bills, writing flourishing contracts with her lodgers, and the like. This knight of the pen also contributes to our comfort by going messages, and is a useful, well-disposed little man. Such is our domestic establishment—but we have other acquaintances. Thus, Rogers and I have M. Armellini as our chief Italian master in common. Then he has M. Pfyffer, secretary of the Swiss Guard, to talk to him by the hour; and, lastly, I have a Venetian deacon, long resident in Rome, to instruct me in the liturgies and be aide-de-camp in matters ecclesiastical.

Of our method of spending our time it is hard to give you any account—we have no system, and are continually reproaching ourselves for the loss of time, want, and the listless habits the climate produces, causes us. However, we have managed to see a variety of people and things, and some of a kind not usually known by Englishmen. Thus we have begun and hope

to succeed with an inquiry into the spiritual exercises which are so commonly practised here. We went the other day to Albano, and dined at a convent of Franciscans. We are becoming acquainted with the Jesuits, and had the other day a two hours' controversy with one, which was most amusing. Sight-seeing of a definite kind we are somewhat lazy about, but we go a great deal into society; and, besides the acquaintances produced by your letters, have made several others of an interesting kind. . . . Amongst my English friends, Lady Davy has been the most useful and kind, and through her I can make almost any acquaintance I wish.

A long account follows of Mr. Watson's illness; and the writer mentions that he himself had been constantly ailing. He proceeds :—

You will probably expect me to say something of the impression made on me. On the whole it is a very disappointing one. The town with its many sights is below my expectations.

Of the ecclesiastical *exterior* he judges unfavourably, but adds :[3]—

On this point, however, my judgment is still suspended, and I am conscious that, without having far more ample means of knowledge than have yet come within my reach, I cannot form a just opinion. Still, the exterior is most repulsive; and the good opinion with which the R. Catholics had elsewhere inspired me, has been considerably lowered at Rome. The mixture of secular and spiritual power is an evil which to a great degree will account for this, but still it must have its weight. Had I found Rome to be what it ought to be—to be equal to its pretensions, and such as its many fine institutions and practices would enable it to be—I feel certain it would have made a very deep impression upon me, even in spite of its doctrine. But as it is I am half angry with it for looking so very like what Protestants describe it to be, and at the same

[3] On all this, see *infra*, p. 271.

time have been glad that no greater goodness has been put in the way to tempt me.

. . . And so, with all kind messages to the Warden and the Brethren,

I remain yours very truly indeed,

JAMES R. HOPE.

The Rev. Walter Kerr Hamilton, afterwards (1854) Bishop of Salisbury, was a brother-Fellow of Mr. Hope's at Merton, and his attached friend through life. He was also Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, at Oxford, a church attached to Merton College. He was a hard-working parochial clergyman, whose sympathies at an early date were certainly 'evangelical,' but who developed before long into advanced Tractarianism, and remained in that phase to the end of his life. Such instances often remind one of that fine but mournful couplet of Pope's:—

> And middle natures reach, and long to join,
> Yet never pass the insuperable line.

In a letter to his mother, of January 21, 1841, Mr. Hope mentions having made the acquaintance of Monsignore Marini, 'a Judge of the Rota, and a very able man.' 'I have also,' he adds, 'continued to go amongst such of the clergy as I know, and we had, not long ago, a very amusing controversy with an Irish Jesuit, who thought, and perhaps still thinks, to convert us.'

In the same letter he mentions (as previously to Mr. Hamilton) having engaged an Italian ecclesiastic to give him lessons in the Liturgies, and to act generally as his informant. With him he had made an expedition into the country and visited a couple of monasteries, at one

of which they had dined with the monks. He also gives a description of a visit he had made to a House for the Spiritual Exercises at Rome. The particulars related can hardly be new to my readers, yet are worth quoting, in illustration of the state of Mr. Hope's religious feelings at the time:—

We have made a beginning toward seeing something of the 'Spiritual Exercises,' as they are called, which take place here. The institution which we saw is designed for the lower and middle classes, who come there in bodies of sixty or seventy at a time, in order to pass a week or eight days in religious retirement under some clergymen who form a Society for this purpose. During this period there is a succession of sermons, catechisms, confessions, and communion, joined with considerable discipline as to speaking, sleep, food and the like. We were shown over it by a man of good family, who has devoted himself to it, and whose description of the system was exceedingly interesting. From his account it seems to be a very valuable institution. This I was well disposed to believe upon general grounds, and there is definite evidence of its effects upon some of the penitents in the offerings (now arranged round an altar in the chapel) of stilettos of various kinds and shapes, one of which we were assured was poisoned. The same sort of exercises are provided for other classes in the different monasteries; and it is usual for well-disposed persons to make two 'retreats' in the year for this purpose, the ladies going into a nunnery, the gentlemen into some convent of Jesuits or monks.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—I thank you very much for your two collations, but I must not indeed take up your time so; you will be of great use to us by obtaining information, but your health & Rogers' eyes must be spared. One has no business to have collations at such cost. One c[d] not help thinking of

[blank in *orig.*] only it w^d^ give it a more solemn tone than one w^d^ hope there is occasion for. But I was much concerned to hear that your friends were anxious about you on further ground than that of incidental overwork; so I trust you have been taking care of yourself and have been taken care of during this trying season; but Rome has y^e^ reputation of being a bad place to winter in, so I shall be gladdened to hear a good account of you.

Your plan of a collator is a very good one, &, I suppose, y^e^ only effective one until we have monks or deacons, who may be sent, as in S. Jerome's time. The labourers are so very few that one sh^d^ be glad to economise labour by finding Germans to do what they, I hope, w^d^ do well—accurate work. But it seems very difficult to find a good collator. M. Miller found one at Paris, who had y^e^ reputation of being very accurate, but I am just going to have an entire MS. re-collated, because so many important readings are omitted. When y^e^ MS. is important an inaccurate collation does harm as well as good; for one supposes that it agrees with the text, whereon it is not said to differ, & so becomes wholly misled, especially with such a text as Rigaltius on Tertullian, where y^e^ question often is, whether he has followed y^e^ MS. or recast y^e^ text for himself. . . .

Your information about y^e^ R. C.'s was very interesting to me. I hope there is 'a turning of y^e^ hearts of the fathers to y^e^ children,' & among our own colonies, of y^e^ children to y^e^ fathers also. . . .

You will have heard of a 2^nd^ person who had forsaken our communion for Rome, rejoining it at Oakeley's chapel. . . .

I fear the alarm as to war is not yet over. The French are like, or probably not merely like, a nation possessed, bent on inflicting misery, in order to give vent to their own.

I should like to talk on to you, but I have a heap of unanswered letters. Kind love to Rogers.

Wishing you both all blessings of y^e^ new year,

I remain y^r^ affect. friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Brighton: January 13 [1841].

J. R Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

Rome: March 6, 1841.

Dear Newman,—[After giving an account of what he had done for his correspondent in the matter of buying books:]

Pray tell Dr. Pusey that Anderdon (of University)[4] will, in a week or so, take with him to England Dr. Heyse's collation of the 'Apologeticus.' . . . If I cannot get a printed copy of Cod. Vat. 3852, Heyse is to copy it; and I hope shortly to be able to arrange some general plan with him for collation in other parts of Italy. Pray tell Dr. P. particularly that I have been at Monte Casino, but that nothing of Tertullian's is there. Their best manuscript is of Origen. If I go to Naples I will inquire at La Cava, which is said to be the best Benedictine Archivio. Blume's 'Iter Italicum' I have had sent me from Germany, and have lent it to Heyse, that he may make another *iter* out of it.

. . . During the last week of the Carnival, Rogers took charge of my friend [Mr. Watson, see *ante*, pp. 240, 258], and I went into the mountains to see what I could of the monasteries and clergy in general. I was tolerably successful, and the impression left by what I saw was decidedly favourable. The Benedictines I found much like what our Fellows of Colleges are in the main—less general information—much more simplicity of life and manner, with far better notions of discipline. Of the Carthusians I do not think much. The Trappists are very striking people, both in regard to the severity of their lives, and the sincere but cheerful spirit which seems to prevail among them. The secular clergy whom I saw and heard of, were far better than I was led to anticipate by the accounts which I had received of them in Rome. I was obliged to be controversial more than once, but met with no great learning, and with no new arguments. The shrewdest encounter was with the old Trappist porter who came up to my room at night with Liguori's book upon the B. V. M., and exacted a promise from me that if I ever should become

[4] Now the Rev. W. H. Anderdon, S.J.

a R. C. I would write to tell him of my conversion. I hardly ever met with a more earnest affectionate creature. My whole journey afforded a pleasing contrast to what I had seen and heard in Rome.

Yours ever truly,
JAMES R. HOPE.

In a letter of Mr. Hope's to his brother, Mr. G. W. Hope (March 27, 1841), he mentions having made the acquaintance of the 'Primo Ajutante di Camera di Sua Santità' (Gaet. Moroni), the author of the well-known and curious 'Dizionario di Erudizione istorico-ecclesiastica.' He also remarks: 'The General of the Jesuits I continue to visit, and am grown very fond of him.'

On April 1 he writes to Mr. Badeley:—

As to the Propaganda I have written you nothing, because I know nothing. Its affairs are managed by a congregation to which I have no access. Some gossip of course I have, and one or two books, which you shall hear and see when I return. I am just about to purchase the Bullarium of the Propaganda, which I suppose will contain a sort of historical view of it; but books on the subject generally seem unknown here. . . . My occupations have continued to be of the same kind, presenting few subjects of great interest, but I hope not without some use. During Lent there have been sermons, catechising, and spiritual exercises, of which I have seen something. We are now girding ourselves for the Holy Week, which I fear will be an unholy scramble. The place swarms with English. Among the last arrivals, Lord Brougham with many Edens. They lodge on the same floor of the Hôtel Serny with us. During the early part of next week Rogers and I think of an escape to Frascati, but we shall be back for the chief ceremonies, though I am half ashamed to join them under such circumstances of idleness and curiosity as the crowd of strangers necessarily associates one with. I must do my best to use them devotionally.

My health has been indifferent: indeed, I have had a slight influenza, which has pulled me down; but with an Italian spring and much travelling I hope to recruit fully upon my return. I have escaped worse things which would probably have befallen me in England. I cannot tell you how much I look forward to my return home. I am convinced that much occupation and little society are necessary conditions of my being either a happy or a good man. The vagueness of my present habits is a continual source of discomfort to me.

The Rev. Dr. Pusey to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—. . . You will be glad to hear that y^{e} immediate excitement about Tract 90 seems subsiding, altho' I fear (in the minds of many) into a lasting impression of our Jesuitism, &c.; on the other hand, they who have read what N. has writted since on y^{e} subject, must be won by his touching simplicity & humility. I sh^{d} hope, too, a good deal will have been incidentally explained, wh. people thought to be done gratuitously. Every one says how N. has risen with y^{e} occasion. K. writes to-day: 'I cannot but think that N.'s coming out as he does in this whole business will do y^{e} cause a great deal more good, than any fresh stir of wh. this Tr. has been made the pretence, is likely to do it harm. People quite unconnected write to me as if they were greatly moved by it.'

The pseudo-traditionary & vague ultra-Protestant interpretation of y^{e} Articles has received a blow wh. it will not recover. People will abuse Tr. 90, and adopt its main principles. It has been a harassing time for N., but all great good is purchased by suffering; & he was wonderfully calm.

I am very sorry to hear of 'indifferent health;' i.e. that it still continues so. I have had misgivings lest, in my own inexperience, I sh^{d} have led you to more ascetic habits than your frame can bear; there must be means of self-discipline without this; a low state of health, in wh. people seem to have their head just above water, & to be kept from sinking, one knows not how, tho' one knows by Whom, seems often not unfavourable to intellectual exertion, & very favourable to y^{e} spiritual

state. Still, unless it be God Who brings a person to this state, one sh[d] not place one's self in it. So I trust that you will take care of yourself, & that the Church may benefit by you for many years to come.

Society is indeed very difficult to manage; one gets excited in it, & generally returns dissatisfied; things go on comparatively smoothly in solitude; and, I suppose, mixing in society is on that very ground useful that one learns the more one's own weak points, & that they still remain; as long as people live by themselves, they are asleep, not dead; & are deadened most, probably, by exertion & repentance amid failure.

But we shall meet soon, I hope, to talk on such things.

I wish you all Easter joys, tho' Easter will be much past ere this reaches you.

Ever y[r] affectionate friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

Octave of Easter, 1841.

It appears, then, that during this winter of 1840–1, or at least a part of it, Mr. Hope went a good deal into society at Rome. A gloom had been thown at the time over the Italian portion of it by the recent death of Princess Borghese (*née* Talbot), in consequence of which two great houses, the Borghese and Doria palaces, were closed. But there remained all the *corps diplomatique*, and of English the usual array: among the latter, the Duchess of Cambridge, and many others it is needless to enumerate. Lady Davy has been already mentioned. She amused everybody by telling them that Mr. Hope was her son—or at least ought to be—and seems indeed to have treated him like a mother. He speaks of having received great civility from the Hanoverian envoy, Baron Kestner; but in general seems rather to have endured than enjoyed

going out into the world, unstrung as he was in health, and with an object, it is plain, into which few whom he met could enter. He was pleased to have made the acquaintance of Mr. Louis Gruner, a German artist and engraver (Protestant), who was afterwards well known in England, where he painted the Albert Mausoleum. Mr. Hope engaged him to draw the illustrations for the great collection of religious prints after Raffaelle, which he proposed to bring out under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and which will be noticed more at length in a later chapter (ch. xix. vol. ii. p. 43). He long corresponded with Mr. Gruner, and always remained a very kind friend of his.

Easter Day in 1841 fell on April 11, soon after which Mr. Hope was on his way home, Mr. Rogers having already left for Florence. Mr. Hope started from Civita Vecchia with Mr. Watson: they arrived at Naples, and set out for Malta. On the passage, on April 16, Mr. Watson died suddenly, in consequence of a lung having given way. Thus terminated another series of Mr. Hope's long-continued acts of kindness and charity. It is, I imagine, no violation of confidence to mention that Mr. Watson, being a man of property, had proposed to bequeath a legacy to Mr. Hope, but he, with that high sense of honour and delicacy that always belonged to him, distinctly refused to accept any. Some friend had hinted to him (for an obvious reason) not to make or witness Mr. Watson's will; but it is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Hope paid no regard to this well-meant suggestion. After

attending to his friend's funeral at Malta, he proceeded homewards, first touching at Syracuse, and travelling thence to Catania and Palermo, the interest of the two latter places consisting, for him, in certain old Benedictine convents. He then passed to Naples, where he found an old friend and correspondent, M. d'Eclépans, an officer in the Swiss Guard in that capital. Taking then the route by Marseilles and Paris, he reached England, and was again in Merton College by the end of May.

As a supplement to this chapter, I shall subjoin some further notices of the visit to Rome recorded in it, taken from a letter of Lord Blachford's (then Mr. Rogers) to Mr. Edward Stanley Hope, under date July 2, 1873. They are prefaced by some valuable observations of a more general kind.

Of course he [Mr. Hope-Scott] had many noble characteristics in common with others. But what was unequalled, or at least unsurpassed in him was his power of charming and persuading everybody he came across. Over and above the wit, temper, and courtesy, the advantages of personal appearance, voice and graceful manner, which go to make up pleasantness, there was a kind of grave, playful tenderness, which he could infuse into his manner, neither too much nor too little, but according to persons and circumstances, which was peculiarly irresistible. And beyond this he had not only a pleasure in pleasing but a pleasure in serving. He was always ready to take up people, to see them through difficulties, to use his interest or exert his mind, and give up his time for them. I remember particularly in Rome (where there is plenty to do and to see) how he devoted himself to a young friend, then in a consumption—making it a point to spend part of every day with him, and finally accompanying him to Malta, where he died.

He was of course conscious of his power—he could not be

otherwise; and had a kind of amused satisfaction in it. At Rome I called with him on a celebrated and somewhat grim Capuchin, of whom it is said that in some high office he had so preached at the Roman Court that they made him a cardinal to get him out of the pulpit—and that when this was done he made matters still worse by refusing to set up carriage and footman. This history—a myth perhaps—made us find some reason for calling on him. He was friendly and courteous, but could not understand, and naturally did not care to understand why on earth we should have taken the trouble to call upon him. I remember well the amused chuckle with which Hope-Scott said, as we went out, 'That old gentleman is the first man we have not conquered,' which, as far as he was concerned, was true enough. . . .

Though he had a fine taste as to painting, and a cultivated pleasure in music and architecture, he was not, I think, much affected by the external magnificence of the Roman Church—but rather the contrary. The finished solemnities of the Sistine Chapel would have affected him less than a rude midnight mass of Carthusians. But what did affect him was the coherent system and organisation of Rome—the exactness of law and doctrine, the completeness of theory, the careful adjustment of details, and the steady adherence to what was laid down. With these, it made him uneasy and dissatisfied to compare the loose 'rule of thumb' procedure which is characteristic of everything English. This at least was my impression while we were drifting apart.

I may conclude this chapter by remarking, with reference to his expressions of disappointment with Rome (p. 261), that, whilst still a Protestant, Mr. Hope insisted to an intimate friend, who is my informant, on the contrast between what was external and what was interior, in the following words:—

Ah, Z., there may be abuses and scandals at Rome, but there is a higher region and wider views in the governing part.

CHAPTER XIV.

1841.

State of Oxford in 1841—Religious Parties Described—Tractarian Literature—Social Phases—The Merton Reforms—Poem by Mr. Caswall—The Scotch College—Meeting at Edinburgh—Mr. Hope's Ideas—The Lay Element—Early Supporters of the College—Site of Glenalmond Chosen—Description of Scenery and Building—Mr. Hope's Name left out of the Council.

It will have been perceived from a letter I lately quoted, that Mr. Hope was dissatisfied with the aimlessness of his life in Rome, and impatient to get back to England and return to active work. A year or two, however, was still to elapse before his career at the Bar could fairly be said to have commenced, though in the interval some very considerable legal business was placed in his hands. To the whole subject, however, of his professional history a future chapter will be devoted, and the religious and controversial aspects of his life must still be continued in the present.

By the time Mr. Hope had returned to Oxford in May 1841, important events had happened. In February 'Tract 90' had appeared, and in the following month the 'Letter of the Four Tutors' (among the number of whom was the late Archbishop Tait) to the editor of the 'Tracts for the Times,' which was the first step leading to its censure by the Hebdomadal Board. No. 90, which attempted to make Catholic principles compatible

with signature to the Thirty-nine Articles,[1] caused less shock than might have been expected at first; but the Tractarians soon began to divide off into the Moderates of various shades, and the Newmanites, which appellation now began to be heard rather than Puseyite; the term 'Romaniser' arose later. Mr. Newman was now settled at Littlemore, with a small band of devoted followers, and had many sympathisers in most of the colleges. Dr. Pusey had also a following; but his influence perhaps was greater in the country than at Oxford, and, as time went on, was more especially exercised in the practice of hearing confessions. The names of other members of the party, second indeed to these, but still very prominent at the time, were Charles Marriott, of Oriel, W. Palmer, Magdalen College, W. G. Ward, the Wilberforces, &c., and many whom, as still living, there may be various reasons for not mentioning in this place. There was a coterie of Evangelicals or Low Churchmen, but much in the background, of which a leading member was Dr. Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall, and a very active one, the Rev. C. P. Golightly. The liberalising party of this period was represented by such names as Hawkins, Tait, Wilson,

[1] Here compare a passage from a letter of Mr. Newman to J. R. Hope, May 14, 1845 (given vol. ii. p. 65). No. 90 was but an approximation. By 'Catholic principles' and 'Catholicising' in connection with the Oxford movement, must be understood the general tendency which led men to prefer that side of the shield of Anglicanism (if I may use the expression) which most resembled in its hue that of Rome. Some might stop short with the early *Tracts* and the *Anglo-Catholic Library*; others, in varying degrees, approach the limit where consistent minds found conversion inevitable; and among these latter were some (scarcely a party) who, for a time, hoped that a union might have been brought about, independently of individual conversions.

Hayward Cox, Hampden, Stanley, Donkin. Among these, Drs. Hawkins and Hampden were friends of Dr. Whately, who had left Oxford for Dublin some years before the movement (Oct. 1831). To his set had also belonged Drs. Hinds and Copleston, Blanco White, Professors Buckland, Baden-Powell, Daubeny, &c. Several of these, as will be seen, represent the scientific element, which found its centre in the Ashmolean Club. Dr. Whately's views, however, as of some others named in this list, were strictly theological, which could not be said of all opponents to Tractarianism, though indifference might pass into antagonism. The 'British Association' takes in a far wider field than Oxford, but still enters into the range of the subject; an article against it in the 'British Critic,' by Mr. J. W. Bowden, was severely felt. Professor Sewell, of Exeter College, may have a place to himself, as not without an influence, though his views, steeped in Platonism, and coloured with a horror of 'Jesuitism' worthy of Mr. Whalley, exposed him to more ridicule than his genius deserved. They exhibit, in curious combination, elements of Tractarianism, of the older form of the High Church, and of Protestantism even of the Orange hue. He was one of the founders of St. Columba's College in Ireland, and of Radley College, which, with the nearly contemporary institution of St. Augustine's Missionary College at Canterbury (founded by Mr. Beresford Hope), may be compared with that of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and originated probably from the same general impulse. These were the religious parties at Oxford in 1841, and among them the moving, attractive force

was undoubtedly with the Tractarians, though (except for the genius and learning of three or four of its leaders) that set perhaps hardly represented the secular and academical talent of the University to so very high a degree as its activity made it appear to do at the time. But it felt the strength of youth, and the advantage of being on the side of attack, miscalculating the power of defence which could be arrayed against it, in the mass of the governing body of the University and of the conservative element [conservative of Protestant traditions] in the country.[2]

As to literature, the moderate section was represented by the 'Anglo-Catholic Library' (reprints of the great Anglican divines), and by the 'Englishman's Library' (a collection of little publications of a popular kind by such writers as Mr. Gresley and Mr. Paget, among which, however, was found Sewell's 'Christian Morals,' a widely-different book); finally, in the newspaper press, by the 'English Churchman.' The Puseyites proper (though this term was never really used except in a general sense) by the 'Devotional Library,' edited by Dr. Pusey. This was a collection of works translated from French ascetical writers, and 'adapted' to the use of Anglican readers. The advanced party had a regular organ in the 'British Critic' (the 'British Magazine' had preceded this at the earliest stage of the

[2] The *Ritualist* party did not as yet exist in its present sense, though commotions were caused, for example at Exeter, and afterwards at Leeds, by questions associated with it, such as the use of the surplice in the pulpit, of the offertory, &c., things which now appear so small that only the instinct of Protestantism could have found out much ground for apprehension in them. The character of mind which tended in the Ritual direction was called by the inner circle, in the early days of Tractarianism, 'the vestment ἦθος.'

movement), and were soon to find their expression the 'Lives of the English Saints,' written by autho who nearly all, in the sequel, became Catholics, suc as Dalgairns, Oakeley, Faber, &c.; but, at the perio immediately before us, in the 'Sermons' and othe writings of Mr. Newman, and in the 'Library of Fathe of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the Division the East and the West' (a collection of translations fro them). The poetic phase of Tractarian literature wa also one of great importance, exhibited in Keble, Isaa Williams, Faber, John B. Morris, and in the contribu tions of Mr. Newman himself and others to the 'Lyr Apostolica.' To each name belongs a particular cha racter of thought on which I cannot enlarge. As ha already been seen, there was a marked trace of poetr in the mind of the subject of this memoir, and it wi re-appear when we come to one of the most tryin crises of his life. The prose allegories of Mr. Adams, dear friend of Mr. Hope's, and a brother-Fellow of hi at Merton, of which more presently, almost come unde the same head.

It may readily be supposed that the society i which were operating the various opinions I have de scribed must have been well worthy of study. Som of its aspects are admirably photographed in Cardina Newman's 'Loss and Gain;' but he has depicted rathe the Undergraduate strata of the party, than those whic concern our present object. At that time there wa much greater distance between the senior and junio Fellows of colleges than I believe is now the case—th *juniores patrum* most commonly favouring the Tracts

Religious differences interfered silently with the comfort of social intercourse, so many subjects being naturally *tabooed*, and sometimes these differences made themselves heard. College elections were apt to turn upon this point, and, at least in one much-contested arena, if a man wished to succeed, he found it advisable to eschew all visible connection with the 'Tracts for the Times' or their authors. Frequentation of Mr. Newman's sermons at St. Mary's, visits to Littlemore, even the display of the 'Tracts for the Times' or the 'Plain Sermons' on book-shelves, would soon make it no secret which side a man was taking. All this jealousy and suspicion tended more and more to give Tractarianism the form of a party, which of itself it was rapidly assuming.

A curious illustration of its social phases may be gathered from a letter of Mr. Hope's to Mr. Newman, of October 22, 1841, a few lines of which will amuse the reader :—

> And here, by the way, I should like to engage you to meet the Bishop of New Zealand [Selwyn][3] whom I expect (with Edw. Coleridge) at Oxford on Thursday. He wishes to see all the Oxford men he can in the course of that day, and so the way I must adopt is to have a dinner and a breakfast. Will you say whether the breakfast on Thursday at a quarter past nine, or the dinner same day at six, will suit you best, if either will; and when you have decided, will you, through Church or some other friend, ask as many good men and true as will come, to come to me at the meal fixed by you? I must then

[3] A letter of Dr. Selwyn's to Mr. Hope, dated 'Wellington: January 4, 1844,' expresses the strongest feelings of gratitude to him for his services (with Mr. Badeley) as legal adviser in regard to the Anglican Church affairs of New Zealand.

make another list of Moderates, or whatever they are to be called, for the other meal. I hope you will not think this an inconvenient commission. Hamilton is not at Merton now, and I have no one who would know whom to ask.

The following letters are also, perhaps, not unworthy of preservation, as giving several names belonging to Mr. Hope's Oxford circle, and showing, quite unconsciously, how completely Mr. Newman was treated as its king. Is it not always the etiquette that a list of intended invitations be previously submitted to a Royal guest?

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—I certainly meant to have had some more pickings from your books when I saw the list which you promised to show me. You said you had Zaccharia's work on 'Breviaries' for me, and the additional volume of 'St. Augustine.' However, when you come, I will have a word with you. Meanwhile, I thank you much for all your trouble, and I do much admire the beauty and splendour of the copies you have sent me. Also they have been the admiration of Rogers, Church, and Marriott.

I have chosen Thursday morning and breakfast for coming to you. So ask your Moderates to dinner. I have, I fear, outdone your wishes as to the breakfast, having asked as many as the following, but I did not know how to stop: Rogers, Marriott, Church, Copeland, Williams, J. Morris, Cornish, Johnson Observer, Mozley, Pattison, and Keble. I really do hope I have not overdone it—some perhaps will not come.

Ever yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Oriel: October 24, 1841.

[In Mr. Hope's hand is added: 'W. Palmer, T. Chamberlaine;' and 'Dinner: Cardwell, Exeter, Macbride, Sewell, Jacobson, Gilbert, Warden.']

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn:
October 25, 1841.

Dear Newman,—I do not see Ward's name in your list. If in Oxford pray have him bidden—and any one else you like. I have added W. Palmer (Magd.) and Chamberlaine to the breakfast. (We shall have heads of houses for dinner.) Bloxam too—is he not in Oxford?

Yours truly, JAMES R. HOPE.

I have put Sewell in the dinner—is this wrong?

The reforms in Merton College probably engaged Mr. Hope's attention still; but from a letter of his, whilst yet in Rome, to Mr. Badeley, of April 1, 1841, I am inclined to think that his exertions were beginning to disappoint him. 'The letter you sent me (he writes) was a canvassing one—which will have that weight with me which I usually give to such documents . . . but I have given up pretending to understand what is good or bad for the college.' A letter of his to the Rev. W. K. Hamilton (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), of Oct. 31, 1842, shows that he was then actively interested in the reforms; he speaks of much improvement in the financial arrangements, expresses fair satisfaction as to chapel-going, &c., and great satisfaction with what was being effected in the improvement of the building with Mr. Blore, the architect. But a letter of several years' later date (Dec. 15, 1846), from his brother-Fellow and dear friend, the Rev. W. Adams to Mr. Hope, seems to indicate that the attempt at a real revival of the statutes had practically failed: 'The more I study the statutes, the more perplexed I feel as to any real approach to

carrying them out. I cannot even get any clear notion of the various terms employed, *socii*, *fratres*, &c.'

As I shall not have further occasion in this memoir to refer directly to Merton College, I may perhaps be allowed here to make a quotation from a little humorous poem addressed from Merton on Dec. 22, 1842, to Mr. Hope, by his brother-Fellow and colleague in the Bursary, Mr. Alfred Caswall. It seems Mr. Caswall had caused to be removed from the muniment-room to the library an antique oak box of papers for Mr. Hope's inspection. 'The Big Box' is supposed to resent this transference, and Mr. Caswall puts a long soliloquy into its mouth, going back to the times when the oak from which it was made was a young sapling in Merton Field, and pushed aside, it may be, by Alfred. I shall only inflict on the reader the concluding lines, which seem to give us a peep at Mr. Hope and his friends in Merton Common-room, in those days long gone by:—

> What shall I say?—Oh, hard indeed my lot,
> By all forsaken, and by all forgot.
> Bathurst is silent—Bridges' eye is cold,
> Ah! none will hear my tale of sorrow told.
> But ling'ring still, of other aid bereft,
> *Hope* will not leave whom all besides have left.
> *Hope* lends a pitying hand to soothe my pain,
> *Hope* bids the mourner live and smile again.
> Oh, may the Power, whose all-seeing Eye
> Lets not, unmarked, the sparrow droop and die,
> Grant my Protector long and happy days,
> To live with Honor and to die with praise!

To the Scotch college, Mr. Hope was still, in 1841–2, devoting great thought and pains. On Mr. Gladstone's being appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade

and a Privy Councillor, an increased share of the work of making the preliminary arrangements of the new foundation fell to Mr. Hope, and to his tact and admirable business talents the success of an important meeting held at Edinburgh for setting the affair afloat seems to have been principally due. At an earlier stage of the negotiations, the bishops had all admitted the force of the arguments used, and the good of what was proposed, but dreaded the responsibility. Mr. Hope, after a final appeal, took leave of them with the words: 'I have done my best; the responsibility lies with your lordships.' This was quite in the spirit of a very favourite expression of his: *Liberavi animam meam.* It was under his advice that circulars were drawn up, the trust-deed concocted, and all those details considered which are incident to the commencements of an institution requiring a large capital to start with. What has already been cited from his letters will nearly suffice to explain his views on collegiate education. Steeped and penetrated with mediæval ideas on the subject, he wished the new institution to be conducted in an ecclesiastical spirit, and to be practically in the hands and at the disposal of the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church; and though he was willing that a third part of the delegation charged with the final ratification of the statutes should be laymen, still he was persistently averse to the predominance of the lay element. Writing to Mr. Gladstone on Jan. 5, 1841, he says: 'The lay offices should be those of protection only, *e.g.* there might be a lord or a patron protector, who should be a British peer, and an "Advocate," for whose qualifications a seat in the House of Commons

might be required.' Whilst not excluding the idea of making the new college a centre of superior and even of general education, it was with its object as a seminary for the priesthood that his heart went with the undertaking. He also, as a Scotsman, seems to have felt the importance of forming a native clergy rather than depending on supplies from England, and, with reference to the latter, he characteristically writes (on Aug. 3, 1841): 'The clergy, *quà* clergy, are indifferently educated in England, and would bring with them the leprosy of gentility, which may be well enough for Edinburgh, but had better stop there.' This expression, *the leprosy of gentility*, was a little too strong for his correspondent, who in reply (Aug. 6) says: 'If you conscientiously can, qualify gentility, not with leprosy, but with some less acrimonious disease.'[4] It will have been perceived from Mr. Gladstone's letter of Sept. 8, 1840 (given at page 219), that cordially and zealously as both the friends were acting for the common purpose, there was a divergence of idea between the two, which though it might not have been as yet palpable enough to serve as a decisive prognostic of what was to come, is, for us, an

[4] Can the phrase have been suggested to Mr. Hope by a book he must have been familiar with in his early legal studies? One is curiously reminded of it by the following passage in a work which was in the hands of every law-student of those days: 'The candidate [for the legal profession] must forget for a while grand connections, fastidious tastes, and fashionable life, and enter himself in the number of those who constitute our *third* class. . . . He is entering a stern *republic* in coming to the Bar. Nothing will suffer, in its perpetual collisions, but that preposterously short-sighted pride —that leprosy of 'exclusiveness,' which blights like a disease some of the inferior and more recent members of the aristocracy; as the hem of a splendid garment is generally most liable to be tarnished and defiled!'—Warren's *Popular Introduction to Law Studies*. London: 1835 (p. 72).

interesting token of a change that was already preparing in Mr. Hope's mind, but which was still very distant from maturity.

It may well be supposed that an institution started by two young men of such elevated character and great influence, was likely to succeed, notwithstanding the breadth of the financial basis it demanded, compared with the resources of such a country as Scotland, and a society so small as its Episcopalian Church. The project was warmly taken up by the leading prelates of that communion, by the elder Mr. Gladstone (afterwards Sir John Gladstone, Bart., of Fasque), to whose powerful understanding and talent for organisation the college was greatly indebted, and by many of the most distinguished families of the Scottish nobility and gentry, whose contributions were made in that splendid spirit which was always a marked feature in the Tractarian movement. The first Warden, the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, now Bishop of St. Andrews, contributed no less than 5,000*l.*, besides undertaking to advance as much more, on loan. Mr. Hope himself, I believe, had offered to give no less than 6,000*l.*, but a donation on a scale so immensely out of proportion with his then means, appears not to have been carried out, from deference to the representations of his brother, Mr. George W. Hope, who pointed out to him that it would be giving others a false impression as to his real resources. Among the names of the Scottish Committee may be mentioned the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Home, Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Elgin, W. Pitt Dundas, Sir A. Edmonstoun, W. Forbes of Medwyn

(son of Lord Medwyn). A Committee was also formed in England, including, among others, Mr. Badeley, the Rev. Edw. Coleridge, of Eton, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Henry Kerr, and the Rev. J. Endell Tyler (late Fellow of Oriel, and a name of some note in the generation preceding that of Bishop Wilberforce).

A site, in the midst of the picturesque Highland solitude of the valley of Glenalmond in Perthshire, was given to the college by George Patton, Esq., of The Cairnies, afterwards a member of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Glenalmond, and subsequently of Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland. I refer my readers to an amusing description which Mr. Gladstone gives in his letter to Miss Hope-Scott of a little tour made by himself and his father, with Mr. Hope, in order to select the locality.[5] The choice seems to have been an extremely good one. An imposing edifice was raised, with chapel, cloister, hall, and other collegiate buildings, in the style of the great Gothic revival, the singular contrast of which to the loneliness of the surrounding scenery strikes every visitor. All this was the work of years; the site was given in 1842; the foundation-stone of the chapel was laid by Sir John Gladstone on September 8, 1846; and it was not till the following year that the Public School Department opened. Mr. Badeley, in a letter to Mr. Hope, dated 'St. Andrews, September 12, 1846,' giving an account of the day of laying the foundation-stone, mentions that at the dinner Mr. Hope's health and that of Mr. Gladstone was given 'as the originators and founders of the

[5] See Appendix III.

college.' As the college was so closely associated with a considerable part of the Anglican period of Mr. Hope's life, some notion of its actual working (though after he had ceased to take any active part in its affairs) seems here admissible, and I venture to quote as follows, from a rather interesting, though diffuse article, describing 'a Sunday at Trinity College, Glenalmond,' which appeared in 'Sharpe's London Magazine,' vol. xii. (about the year 1850):—

At Methven, the track to Glenalmond College leaves the high-road from Perth to Crieff. It is bold and picturesque, and the foreground altogether Highland. Four miles easy walking brought us to the outskirts of the college. The course of the Almond might be traced in that of the deep and woody glen which receives its name. The bowery braes, the shelving hills, the rude and rocky eminences beyond, stood out in that clear bright softness of northern twilight which is so inexpressible by description—but nought beside was visible.

'Twas then was heard a heavy sound,
Sound, strange and fearful there to hear
'Mongst desert hills, where, leagues around,
Dwelt but the gorcock and the deer.[6]

We could comprehend somewhat of Sir Roland de Vaux's surprise, when, in that solitary region, we heard sounds reminding us of the evening summons sent forth from the towers of St. Mary's or Christ Church. We pressed forward, and were soon in sight of the college. Two sides of a quadrangle, 190 feet square, and the walls of a noble chapel, are complete; and the effect of this spectacle amid the surrounding scenery was yet more striking than the sound which had betokened it. We seemed like pilgrims of old, who had reached some stately yet lonely monastery. (P. 222.)

A long account follows of the ways of the college at

[6] Walter Scott, *Bridal of Triermain*, Canto iii. 6.

the date of this visit; the early choral service, though without organ, masters and scholars all arrayed in surplices, had much impressed the writer. 'The exterior fabric of the chapel,' he says, 'very much resembles that of Merton College, Oxford, except in the omission of the half-transept, and in the very high pitch of the dark, open roof, the effect of which is particularly striking, the eye completely losing itself in the height and darkness of the timbers. In the chancel, the roof is what the Germans would term a "Himmel." It is painted blue, and sprinkled with stars in gold.' The following notice of the 'Litany and Communion' is rather curious:—

> The unconfirmed now left the chapel, and the service of the Holy Communion, which is solemnised here every Sunday, began. Two services for this purpose are in use in the Church; the so-called 'Scottish Office' (borrowed for the most part from the *first* English Liturgy of 1549), and the present 'English.' These offices are used at Glenalmond on alternate Sundays. This is no place to discuss their respective merits; it will be enough to observe that the Warden has herein exercised a sound discretion. He has given neither triumph nor offence to any parties, and acted in full compliance with the regulations of the Church. He has accustomed his pupils to use and reverence both services, and, whether among clergy or laity, they will feel no repugnance to share in that office which circumstances may oblige them to celebrate or participate. It was the 'English Sunday' when we were present. (P. 224.)

Much is said about a custom of the college for the boys to present the masters, as they passed to the refectory for breakfast or dinner, with choice nosegays, either from the garden-ground allotted to each, or of heath, hare-bell, and the like.

As to the interior arrangements of Glenalmond, from the description given in this article we can easily recognise Mr. Hope's influence, as they show more of the principle of *surveillance* than is common in Protestant collegiate institutions generally. It will be remembered, of course, that the writer speaks of 1850, and that more recent accounts would be of no interest in connection with a memoir of Mr. Hope:—

> Each of the theological students, of whom there are now ten, has an apartment of his own. Of the forty-eight boys now resident, thirty-four have separate sleeping-rooms; the remaining fourteen sleep in a dormitory, but in separate 'stalls,' as they are not inappropriately called. These are divided from each other by a high wooden partition, and from the line of the dormitory by a lower, so that each boy is quite private at night. The dormitories and sleeping apartments are so situated and constructed, as to be capable of being all brought in an instant under the eye of the particular master to whose charge they severally belong. Every boy is provided with a looking-glass framed in dark carved oak, and an ample chest of drawers, garnished with bronze plates and handles. In the school-room the boys' accommodations are more like studies than desks; they are divided by high partitions as in the sleeping stalls, and against each partition book-shelves are erected, reaching from the top to the desk, so that each boy can take the book he wants without delay or confusion, while there is no opportunity for interrupting each other, and the open side of the study places every boy under the eye of the master. (P. 225.)

Before quitting the subject of Trinity College, I must not omit to state that in 1845, when the final arrangements were approaching, Mr. Hope's name, unwearied as had been his services in the inception and early struggles of the institution, was left out of the Council by the Edinburgh Committee—an omission

which will surprise no one who can recall the character of those times. An advanced Tractarian was a marked man; and such a society could not, in Scotland at any rate, afford to place such names in the front. It must, however, in fairness be observed, that by this date Mr. Hope had become more than an advanced Tractarian, and was beginning to entertain grave doubts of the Anglican position. It is only wonderful that in the presence of acts so decisive on the part of his own friends, those doubts did not sooner ripen into certainties.

CHAPTER XV.

1841.

First Shock to Mr. Hope's Confidence in the Anglican Church—Origin of the Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem—Mr. Hope's Suspicions of the Bill—His Pamphlet—Mr. Hope's Statement to Sir Robert H. Inglis—The Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem—Mr. Hope's Statement to Sir Robert H. Inglis Continued, and Concluded.

In July 1841 commenced a movement which gave, perhaps, the first serious shock to Mr. Hope's confidence in the Anglican Church, a confidence which he never really regained, although many years, and still more manifest tokens were needed before he found his final refuge in Catholicity. This was the project for establishing an Anglo-Prussian Bishopric at Jerusalem, which certainly, both in its origination and its conditions, was adapted, as if of set purpose, to wound in the severest manner religious feelings such as those now deeply seated in the mind of Mr. Hope. The commencements of this institution will form a curious chapter in the ecclesiastical history both of England and of Germany. My task, however, is that of a biographer, not an historian; I must therefore limit myself to reminding the reader of the principal facts, and to selecting from the documents before me such passages as may best illustrate the part which Mr. Hope took in the controversy.

The Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem was suggested partly by political and partly by religious considerations.

The East has for ages, nay, from almost the remotest times, been governed on the principle of allowing separate nationalities and religions large powers of self-government, and in this respect the compactness and unity of the Catholic and Greek Churches gave them advantages which Protestant statesmen felt that their own communities, or, so to speak, settlements in the Levant were far from possessing. Accordingly, the idea suggested itself, that the Protestant or Evangelical Churches might be brought into a coherent form, which Turkey would respect, like those with which she was familiar in the Church of Rome, or the ancient Oriental sects. About the same time also, Prussia, after much trouble and even by the exercise of considerable force, had welded together the two great sections into which her own Protestantism was divided; and therefore the idea of this kind of fusion came before her, or rather her rulers, as a thing quite in keeping with a policy already adopted. Obviously, on the Protestant side, there was but one great Power having much to do with the East, for Prussia to make common cause with, and that was England. Accordingly, the two Governments entered into an arrangement for the proposed object, of which the chief points were: that there was to be a Bishop at Jerusalem, alternately nominated by the English and Prussian Crowns, the latter undertaking half the cost of the foundation. He was to preside over English congregations, and others joining his Church in the East, under the jurisdiction, until some other relation might be judged expedient, of the Archbishop of Canterbury: German subjects might use their own

Liturgy; candidates for ordination were to sign the Thirty-nine Articles; those destined for German congregations to prove, besides, their signature to the Augsburg Confession. Certain legal difficulties connected with a bishop abroad, ordaining persons, not English subjects, were first disposed of by an Act in October 1841, enlarging an earlier Act that had been passed to meet the wishes of the Anglican communion in the United States. The chief person concerned in carrying this enlarging Act was the late Sir Robert Harry Inglis, who was a friend of Mr. Hope's, and by his invitation the distinguished young Church lawyer was called in to assist at the deliberations held with the Prussian Ambassador, Chevalier [afterwards Baron] Bunsen, previous to bringing the Bill into Committee.

Mr. Hope's religious instinct had, indeed, led him rather to suspect the Bill from the first; but, influenced chiefly by the opinion of Dr. Pusey, who (at this stage of the transaction) had written to him in a sense not unfavourable to it, he had been led to think that his objections did not touch principle, and he co-operated to a certain extent in the preliminaries. Subsequently, from conversation with M. Bunsen, and from a statement issued by the Prussian Government, he gained so clear a view of the spirit of the measure that he felt it his duty to publish his objections in a pamphlet known to every student of the ecclesiastical events of that time. A statement put forth somewhat later by the English Government increased his dissatisfaction with what was going on, and he brought out a second edition of his pamphlet, with a postscript. These documents I shall

notice by-and-by, but now place before the reader Mr. Hope's own statement of his share in the business, addressed by him, on January 11, 1842, to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, and intended to refute the charge of inconsistency or insincerity which it seems M. Bunsen had brought against him in consequence of his pamphlet as compared with his previous participation in the affair. Some important passages will follow, taken from his correspondence of the same period.

THE PROTESTANT BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM—
MR. HOPE'S STATEMENT.

[Most private.]

To Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart. M.P.

In the month of July last I heard that M. Bunsen was come to England to negotiate the union of the Prussian and English Crowns in a Protestant Protectorate for the East. This raised very serious apprehensions in me as to the part which our Church was to play in the transaction; and I was in doubt whether immediate steps ought not to be taken to warn the members of our communion of the danger we were in. Before doing so, however, I thought it well to consult a friend [Dr. Pusey] whom I believed to be well acquainted with the condition of the German Protestants, and whose principles I could rely on. In his answer, dated July 24 [1841], this passage occurs:—

'I trust that our alliance with Prussia, or rather that of the State, *will bring them up towards us, not lower us to them* [underlined by Mr. Hope]. The present King of Prussia, you know probably, is in heart an Episcopalian. Altogether, it seems a movement towards something better on the part of Prussia, which I should not be inclined to oppose if I could (as far as I understand it).'

This view entertained by a person whom I much respect, made me regard the scheme as one in which I could not indeed bring myself to take much interest, but which I supposed to be

free from great objections in principle ;[1] and I do not remember having thought much more of it till I heard, some time in August, that the Queen's Advocate had received instructions to produce, on twenty-four hours' notice, the Bill for Foreign Bishoprics. The precipitancy with which a measure of such importance was urged on, and that, as far as I could learn, on the authority only of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and Lord Palmerston, seemed to me very objectionable, and I can remember speaking strongly on the subject next day at Mr. Gladstone's, in his presence, and that of Archdeacon Manning and Lord Lyttelton.

After this, I went to Scotland, and while there received a copy of the Bill from a friend who thought a clause relating to the reception of American Orders in Scotland might be conveniently inserted in it.

It was on my way back to London that I met you at the Railway station on September 15. You will remember that in conversing with you then, I spoke strongly of the badness of the Bill as a legislative enactment, of the indecent haste with which it was prepared and pressed forward, and of the insufficient ecclesiastical authority from which it emanated. You were kind enough to think that I might be of some assistance to you in endeavouring to remedy its defects, and with that view you asked me to breakfast the following morning. M. Bunsen having heard that I was to go to you, and being himself invited, was good enough to call for me, and take me in his carriage. Your breakfast party consisted, as far as I remember, of Messrs. Bunsen, Abeken, Harrison, and myself. In consequence of what then passed, I immediately applied myself, under your sanction and with your assistance, to prepare amendments of the Bill, but finding it impossible to do what was required without a new Bill, I set to work to frame one,

[1 Dr. Pusey, however, afterwards, in his *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on some Circumstances connected with the present Crisis in the Church* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1842) declared that, in viewing the scheme with interest, he had been under an erroneous impression, and devoted many pages to an argument against it, referring (p. 135) to 'Mr. Hope's valuable pamphlet.']

which you received on the morning of September 18, that is, two days after our first meeting, and the next day after the meeting at which we came to the conclusion that such a Bill was requisite. In this draft, which was of necessity hastily prepared, I proposed that all consecrations for the purposes of the Bill should be had only after consultation between the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Suffragan Bishops, and upon the consent of a majority of the latter, and that the same authority should determine in each case the relation of the new Bishop to the See of Canterbury; and having thus provided what seemed to me at the moment a sufficient check upon irregular proceedings, I proposed in certain cases large discretionary powers as to discipline and ritual within the new Dioceses.

This Bill, had it become law, would have prevented the occurrence of the difficulties which I have raised in my letter; and therefore you who saw its provisions may justly ask, not why I abstained from suggesting those difficulties at that time (since I did not so abstain), but why I was then ready to remove them, and have since made use of them against the scheme. If I thought the change of Liturgy and discipline fit subject of legislation then, why insist so strongly upon the ecclesiastical evils of it now? To this my answer is: First, that I designed this change to be made after due consideration, and by lawful authority, as my Bill implied. Second, that being under the impression derived from my friend's letter, and not shaken by anything I had yet heard, that the scheme was one *for bringing the Prussians at Jerusalem by legitimate ecclesiastical means into the Church of England*, I considered a relaxation of the outward forms of the Church perfectly allowable for such a purpose, and accordingly made ample provision for it. Indeed, I looked upon this part of the measure as likely to furnish a valuable precedent for the regulation of our Colonial Churches, which, as far as I can judge, are often fettered in their conversions of the heathen by the necessity of a strict adherence to forms originally instituted for Great Britain alone.

As far as I remember, however, at the meeting at your house above-mentioned, I cautiously abstained from expressing any

opinion either as to the Bishopric itself, or even as to the expediency or necessity of the particular changes proposed. I had gone to you, not to meet M. Bunsen (for when you asked me I did not know he was to be there), nor yet to discuss the propriety of the scheme in general, but to point out the legislative defects of the Bill, and to these defects I think I may safely say that I entirely confined myself in all communications which I had with you and with others at that time. But to proceed:—

On Saturday the 18th you took me with you to Lambeth, where we had an interview with the Archbishop. In the course of the conversation which then took place, you will doubtless remember these points to have occurred:—

1. That the Archbishop said that he was hurried on by those who acted with him in this scheme much more rapidly than he liked.

2. That I strongly urged his Grace to alter the second clause of the Bill so as to free the Church of England from being styled, either directly or by implication, 'Protestant,' a title which I said did not belong to it. That I also pointed out the great vagueness of the provisions in that clause as to the relations of the proposed Bishop to the various denominations included under the word 'Protestant.' That his Grace, in reply to the former objection, maintained the use of the word 'Protestant' as applicable to our Church. That with reference to the second, he spoke of Jerusalem as a place in which the holders of all kinds of Protestant opinions might, he hoped, exist amicably together under the *protection* of the proposed Bishop. Upon which, I asked whether his Grace meant that if a Socinian congregation were to desire to place itself under the protection of the Bishop at Jerusalem, this would be permitted? To which (as nearly as I can recollect) he replied: 'Such a case is not likely to occur, but if it did I should say Yes.' Upon which both you and I exclaimed, almost simultaneously, that this was a more fitting office for a consul than for a bishop.

Before the conclusion of our interview you were obliged to go away, and as far as I remember the conversation which I had

with his Grace in your absence, it turned chiefly upon the legal difficulties which we had originally gone to discuss. It was your intention that the Bill which I had drawn should have been given to his Grace, but finding that he was more anxious to know the objections to the measure which he had himself introduced than to have a substitute for it, I withdrew, after having promised to send him some notes which would explain the difficulties we had alluded to.

These I prepared that afternoon, and sent to the Archbishop that evening. A perusal of them will show that in them I informed his Grace of the legal obstacles which I have since insisted on, and that I urged the desirableness of more mature consideration.

On the following morning (Sunday the 19th), I received a note from M. Abeken, stating that 'M. Bunsen was very anxious to hear from me what could be done practically, in order not to make the passing of the Bill impossible for this Session,' and requesting me to breakfast with him the next morning. I had been already, as far as I remember, given to understand that the only point of immediate importance was to procure the mere establishment of the Bishop at Jerusalem, and that other matters might after that be arranged at leisure. One of our objections to the Bill was, that such a Bishop as was designed could not be consecrated under it, and this, of course, made some alteration indispensable; but I had further maintained that it was a decided evil to put imperfect and obscure acts in our Statute-book, since, though made only for temporary objects, such acts often remain unrepealed, and afterwards cause great confusion. I assented, however, to M. Bunsen's request, and prepared such amendments as I thought might still be adopted, without materially impeding the bill. These I took next morning to M. Bunsen, by whom they were carried to the Archbishop.

The result you know. On the evening of that day (Sept. 20) Lord Ashley informed yourself and me, at the House of Commons, that the Archbishop would consent only to such alterations as were absolutely necessary for the consecration; that all he

wanted was 'a piece of paper which would enable him to consecrate Mr. Alexander;' that a detailed measure embracing this and the colonial dioceses should be brought forward in spring. To this decision you thought yourself bound to submit, and, with the exception of the clause enabling alterations during the same Session of Parliament, which I suggested, and which you procured to be introduced, neither yourself nor I further interfered with the Bill.

I turn now from the Bill to the Bishopric itself. It was, if I mistake not, about this time that I heard from a friend that I had been quoted to Mr. Acland by M. Bunsen as an approver of the Bishopric. I told my friend that I would take an early opportunity of correcting this mistake, and accordingly I informed M. Bunsen (if I mistake not, on the evening of the 20th) that I considered the Bill and the Bishopric as two distinct things; that the construction of the former was a matter which I thought I understood, but that, as to the latter, I was not sufficiently informed to pronounce an opinion. My reason for thus speaking was not, however, founded upon the Protestant part of the question (as to which, notwithstanding the views expressed by the Archbishop, I was still influenced by the judgment of my friend as above given), but rested chiefly upon the point of interference with the Oriental Churches, with regard to which I was then far from satisfied.

As to what passed upon the subject during the remainder of that week, I have no distinct recollection; but on Sunday following (the 26th), I was invited to tea by M. Bunsen, and then had much conversation with him and M. Abeken. With the latter I had become acquainted at Rome, and while our intercourse had created in me a great feeling of regard for his person, the friend who was in Italy with me can testify to the utter distrust with which his theological views had inspired me. What took place, however, that evening convinced me that his opinions were sound compared with M. Bunsen's. That gentleman, while professing Catholic principles, disparaged the primitive Church as a witness to those points upon which he had formed his own theory. He maintained that any father of a family

might consecrate the Eucharist; and in speaking of the proposed Bishopric, he described it, as far as I remember, to be the foundation of a new body which was to supplant eventually all other portions of the Church. Against these views I freely protested. Of one of his opinions I remember to have said (somewhat uncivilly) that it was a mere 'Germanism;' of the Bishopric, that I understood him to be aiming at a new *experimental* Church. And to M. Abeken, who accompanied me part of my way homeward, I used, if I mistake not, these words: 'I utterly distrust you Germans.'

After this discovery of M. Bunsen's real views, and coupling them with the designs which had been declared by the Archbishop, I resolved no longer to acquiesce in the charitable opinion which I had derived from my friend. I considered the subject as fully as I could for myself; I communicated my apprehensions freely to others, and compared their opinions with my own. I collected the views entertained in society and found the greatest discrepancy amongst them. The Archbishop's and M. Bunsen's I have already given. In other quarters, some valued the Bishopric chiefly as leading to the conversion of the Jews; others, as tending to the propagation of *Protestantism* generally throughout the East, without respect to the existing Churches. Others, again, as a means of union with those Churches; others, as a Protestant alliance against Rome; others, as a measure of political expediency which would tend to support our national influence in Syria.

The result of all this was a feeling of the greatest possible alarm as to the effect of this project upon the position of our Church. This feeling I made no secret of to those with whom I had occasion to speak upon the subject. I expressed it openly in London and at Oxford when there towards the end of October. At Eton, where, about the same time, I met, amongst others, Mr. Gladstone, Archdeacon Wilberforce, and Mr. Allies, I held the same language; and Mr. Gladstone, having been then requested by the Bishop of London to become one of the trustees of the Fund, I did my best to dissuade him from accepting the office. I was at that time informed that it was

proposed that the Augsburg Confession should be *substituted* for the 39 Articles on the ordination of Germans at Jerusalem, and against this point in particular I exhausted all the arguments I could devise.

On my return to town I heard that the 39 Articles were not to be dispensed with, but coupled with the Augsburg Confession. This by no means diminished my opposition, which I continued to express as before. Mr. Gladstone was now in close correspondence with the Bishop of London and M. Bunsen respecting the precise articles of the scheme. The views which the latter expressed to him were of the same character as those declared to me, but, if possible, even more startling.

The details of the plan were then still (as far as I could learn) very indefinite, and Mr. Gladstone laboured with the greatest patience and charity in endeavouring to fix them, and ascertain their character. At length, on November 6, the day before Bishop Alexander's consecration, he wrote to me, by M. Bunsen's permission, to communicate the Articles then at last agreed on, and to ask my advice about his acceptance of the Trust as defined by them. This letter I did not receive till the following Monday, but in the meantime I had learnt from M. Abeken that one of the Articles in question provided for a review (as I understood him) of the whole subject at a meeting of the Bishops to be hereafter held. In Mr. Gladstone's letter, this Article was thus stated from the document left with him by M. Bunsen:—

'That all the present plans and instructions are to be regarded as provisional; and that the whole are to be submitted for approval or correction some time hence to an episcopal meeting at Lambeth.' And to it my attention was especially requested by Mr. G.

After receiving this letter on Monday afternoon, I went as soon as possible to Mr. G., and found that from a feeling of duty to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, he had thought it right to act upon their invitation to the consecration, and that, not having heard from me, he had written a letter to

M. Bunsen in which he consented to accept the Trust conditionally; that is, upon the understanding that his view of the meaning of the Articles was declared by the Bishop of London to be the true one. In this letter (of which I have a copy) he said: 'The Article with respect to an Episcopal Meeting at Lambeth seems to me to remove all reasonable cause of exception on the head of the competency of the organ of assent.' And with regard to the use of the Augsburg Confession, he said: 'The arrangement respecting the Aug. Conf. does not, when taken in connection with the provision first above mentioned (i.e. that as to the Episcopal Meeting), present (in my view) any insuperable obstruction.'

This letter had been already despatched, which I said that I regretted, since, if the whole scheme was only provisional, it would have been better to delay his acceptance of the Trust until it had become final; indeed, that I did not see how a Trust-deed could be framed until this was the case. He said that he could not himself retract, but that he would suggest that the execution of the Trust-deed should be delayed. To the above letter, dated November 8, he received an answer from M. Bunsen, dated the 10th, in which it was stated that the Bishop of London, Bishop Alexander, and Mr. Williams all adopted Mr. Gladstone's view of the Articles as the true one, and thus Mr. Gladstone's acceptance of the Trust was determined.

The Article above given as to the submission of the whole question to the Bishops, appeared to me very unsatisfactory when considered with reference to a step *already taken*, but it seemed a sufficient reason for abstaining from public expressions of opinion by individuals while such a tribunal was promised. I accordingly applied for leave to communicate the Articles to a friend [Mr. Newman], who was then preparing a protest, and, having obtained permission from M. Bunsen, I sent the tenor of them with a suggestion that my friend should rather present a memorial to the Episcopal Meeting when it should assemble, than pursue the course he proposed.

In the reply to the *above request for M. Bunsen's permission*, communicated to me by M. Abeken, the latter had said that

'M. Bunsen had not the least objection to my communicating the general tenor of the Articles, and that, on the contrary, he would be very much gratified in thus seeing objections removed which existed only on the ground of misunderstanding;' and that M. B. was 'very desirous to lay the whole before me in its fullest extent, and to have my opinion about it, putting me in full possession of everything,' for which purpose he invited me that evening to tea.

Of this invitation I did not avail myself, and on the following morning (November 11) I wrote to M. Abeken in these terms:—

'I must apologise for not having answered your note last night as I ought to have done. One of my reasons for not coming to you as proposed, was fatigue; but another and more important one, which I feel bound to state to you, was, that the doubt which I entertain whether any further explanations respecting the Bishopric would do more than confirm me in the unfavourable opinion which, upon a review of the main features of the case as now settled, I have conceived of it. Not having been called upon for any formal expression of sentiment respecting the measure itself (as distinguished from the Act of Parliament under which it has been effected), I have abstained in a great degree from the discussion of it with M. Bunsen or yourself; nor do I see that in the present stage of the business such a discussion would serve any good end. My reason for asking leave to communicate the outline of the plan to a friend was to obviate his ignorance of facts, not to appear myself as a defender of them, or with a view to my becoming more closely acquainted with the motives which led to them, &c.'

Not long after this, I went to Salisbury, and while there I saw in the papers part of the German account of the Foundation of the Bishopric, and also the advertisement of the English Committee. These documents completed my aversion to the scheme, for they represented it not as the assumption of German Protestants into our Church, which I had originally believed it to be, but the outward union, based upon antecedent internal

principles of agreement, of the Anglican Church with Prussian Protestantism.

I was still, however, restrained by the consideration that the evil might yet be partially remedied by the Episcopal Meeting which had been promised; and I was in correspondence with Mr. Gladstone upon the best mode of procuring a full discussion of the subject at this meeting, when I received from him a communication, which effectually set this question at rest.

I have above said that Mr. Gladstone had intimated his intention of suggesting the delay of the execution of the Trust until the scheme should have been sanctioned by the whole body of the Bishops. With reference to this suggestion the Bishop of London wrote to Mr. G. on Nov. 27, as follows:—

'I learn from Mr. Grane that you are not quite satisfied respecting the execution of the Trust-deed at the present moment. It is obviously inconsistent with the purposes of the Trust that its execution should be delayed till the whole matter has been laid before the Bishops, which, by the concluding Article of M. Bunsen's scheme, may possibly not take place before the expiration of twelve months, and which *cannot* take place, at the earliest, within less than four months.' Then, after an expression in the kindest terms of the Bishop's willingness that Mr. G. should, if he thought fit, withdraw from the Trust, he thus proceeded:—

'I am inclined to doubt whether you are fully aware of the purport of the Article in M. Bunsen's scheme to which I have referred.

'To submit all the proceedings relating to the Bishopric at Jerusalem to a meeting of the Bishops for their sanction, in the ordinary sense of the phrase, is out of the question: for what if they were to *refuse* their sanction? And with regard to the *Articles* themselves, the same difficulty presents itself as to those which will have been acted upon; and therefore the concluding Article only provides, that within a certain time the Articles, when revised and corrected *in the details*, shall be "*communicated* by the Archbishop to an Episcopal Meeting, and then become definitive."

'The Bishops will have an opportunity of protesting against the Articles, or any of them, if they think fit, but not the power of annulling any of those which may be considered as fundamental.'

This announcement was conclusive. It convinced me that the Church of England had been betrayed, and on my return to Town I immediately applied myself to what seemed to me the only means of averting the completion of the evil. If this proceeding upon my part should, under the circumstances of the case, appear to you objectionable, I shall deeply regret it, but as I acted only after the most anxious consideration, and with a full resolution to abide by whatever personal consequences my conduct might entail, I fear that even your disapproval will appear to me more as a misfortune, though a great one, than as a reason for repenting of what I have done.

The whole business of this misapprehension as to his conduct in the matter of the Jerusalem Bishopric, which had given Mr. Hope so much trouble, was concluded by a handsome letter of Sir R. H. Inglis to Mr. Hope, dated 7 Bedford Square, January 28, 1842, in which he says: 'I have no hesitation in stating that my knowledge of the transaction in this case leads me fully to acquit you of inconsistency as well as of insincerity, and this you may tell to others as freely as I tell it to you.—ROBERT H. INGLIS.'

Perhaps the insertion of the following letter (though the greater part of it is merely personal),[2] may be justifiable here as showing how anxiously, at the time, Baron Bunsen had sought to win Mr. Hope's friendship, or rather, as already possessing it, his sympathy.

[2] The friend, to whose death the letter refers, was Mrs. E. Denison, the first wife of Dr. E. Denison, Bishop of Salisbury.

His Exc. Chev. [afterwds. Baron] Bunsen to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Sunday morning, September 26.

My dear Mr. Hope,—I thank you for having written to me about an angel, whose passage through this dark valley I was blessed to behold—up to her marriage better than any living soul, and since that, best after *him* she has left behind to mourn with two infant children over her grave! . . . Yesterday, I received this letter from the mother. If you cannot read it, come to me and I will read it to you. My heart is *brimful* of grief. Her affection had adopted me as her father, and I returned it: none ever was so near to my heart, after my wife and children; and now I cannot even *mourn*. I cannot even *speak* of my grief to such as knew and loved, and venerated her as I did! Last night I had a conversation with Gladstone, which was a great relief to me. He felt her loss, for he knew her. He says, none knew her more intimately than you.

We shall go this morning, by ten, to Guy's Hospital, to hear and see Maurice; thence, by 2, to Palestine Church, to hear the Hebrew Psalms sung as they ought to be sung, and sung by 75 Hebrew children, confessing Him whom their fathers crucified, as their Lord and God. I think I shall be home between six and seven. Will you take tea with us? Ernest shall sing you old hymns, although *without* a piano. Tomorrow morning I set out for Derbyshire, and return Friday, to go to Salisbury on Saturday, if the Bishop really holds his ordination. But will he?

The AB. has written to me a long letter, in which he says, *all the amendments I entirely approve.* (Dr. Pusey comes to him this week.) Let me see something of you this day, if you can.

Yours most sincerely,

BUNSEN.

CHAPTER XVI.

1841.

Increased Excitement at Oxford—Contest for the Poetry Professorship—Correspondence of Mr. J. R. Hope with Mr. Newman on the Situation—Mr. Newman Contemplates the Possibility of Leaving the Anglican Church—Mr. Gladstone's Value for Mr. Hope's Advice—Mr. Newman's Protest against the Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem—Correspondence between Mr. J. R. Hope and Mr. Newman on this Subject—Mr. Hope's Dislike of 'Patch-work'—Refuses an Invitation to M. Bunsen's—Sympathy of Church of England with Foreign Protestants—Advice of Mr. Hope as to the Protest.

To the dates given in the foregoing narrative of Mr. Hope's, it may be convenient to add that Mr. Newman's Protest against the Jerusalem Bishopric was dated November 11; Prussian Statement, November 14; English Statement, December 9; Mr. Hope's Pamphlet, 1st ed., December 20, 1841, 2nd ed., May 13, 1842. During the time that all this was in agitation, the University of Oxford was convulsed by the contest for the Poetry Professorship between the Tractarian candidate, Mr. Isaac Williams of Trinity, and the Protestant, Archdeacon Garbett of Brasenose College, in which Mr. Hope took an active share. The whole year had also been disturbed by Bishops' Charges, hostile to No. 90, and by strong things published by members of the Tractarian party, for which I must refer to collections of the documents of the time. There is no doubt but that this state of things was beginning to make Mr.

Hope, like others, think of the possibility of joining the Catholic Church. In a letter of his to Mr. Newman, dated from Lincoln's Inn, October 15, 1841, occurs the following passsage :—

I do not disguise that I am anxious to know how far the recent proceedings of some of the Bishops are tending to dispose our friends towards Rome, or towards retiring from the office of the clergy in our Church. I do not undervalue the influence of these proceedings as far as my own feelings are concerned, but my circumstances and employments render me unwilling to judge hastily upon the course which Catholics should follow—at least if such modes of dealing with the question by the authorities of the Church should be much further pursued. I hope, therefore, that you will not think me impertinent if I ask as much information as you think will be good for me—of course understanding that I ask for *myself only*—and that as regards myself, I am (perhaps from my ignorance) disposed to judge peremptorily of the difficulties in which we are being involved.

To this question the following was Mr. Newman's reply :—

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Oriel: October 17, 1841.

My dear Hope,—I assure you I wish never to conceal any of my own thoughts from any one who asks them, so far, that is, as I can analyse them, and convey to another a correct impression of them. Least of all would I be deficient in frankness to one like yourself, who from general agreement with me and from your own earnestness, have a claim upon me.

I think, then, that we must be very much on our guard against what Cowper calls 'desperate steps.' Do you recollect the sheep in the 'Needless Alarm'?—

> Beware of desperate steps—the darkest day,
> Live till to-morrow, will have passed away.

We are apt to engross ourselves with the present. Think what ups and downs any course of action has; think how many hills and vallies lie in our way in a journey. One event blots out another.

As to the Bps.' charges, this too must be remembered, that they have no direct authority except in their own dioceses. A Bp.'s word is to be obeyed, not as to doctrine, but as a part of discipline—only in Synod do they prescribe doctrine. There is nothing to hinder any one in the Oxford diocese maintaining just the negative of what these particular Bps. have said. Till truth is *silenced* among us, I do not see that Catholic minds need be in a difficulty.

Having said this, I will go on candidly to own that the said charges are very serious matters—as virtually silencing portions of the truth in particular dioceses, and as showing that it is not impossible that our Church *may* lapse into heresy. I cannot deny that a great and anxious *experiment* is going on, whether our Church be or be not Catholic—the issue may not be in our day. But I must be plain in saying that, if it does issue in Protestantism, I shall think it my duty, if alive, to leave it. This does not seem much to grant—but it is much, supposing such an event to be at our doors, for one naturally tries to make excuses then, whereas one safely pledges oneself to what is distant. I trust it not only is distant, but is never to be. But the way to hinder it is to be prepared for it.

I fear I must say that I am beginning to think that the only way to keep in the English Church is steadily to contemplate and act upon the possibility of leaving it. Surely the Bps. ought to be brought to *realise* what they are doing.

But still on the whole I hope better things. The Clergy were at their worst some years since, and now the Bishops are at their worst. At all events I am sure that to leave the English Church, unless something very flagrant happened, must be the work of years.

Ever y^{rs},

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

On November 6, 1841, Mr. Gladstone addressed a 'confidential' letter to Mr. Hope, of which the most important point is given in Mr. Hope's own Statement to Sir Robert H. Inglis (see *ante*, p. 299); but the following paragraph from it will serve to show the very high value Mr. Gladstone set on his friend's advice in these delicate negotiations:—

Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1841. . . . Amidst public business quite sufficient for a man of my compass, I have during the whole of this week perforce been carrying on with the Bishop of London and with Bunsen a correspondence on an inquisition into the Jerusalem design, until I almost reel and stagger under it. To have the advantage of your clear and cool counsel will be such a comfort to me that I am sure you will not grudge it. . . . Bunsen has just left the formal document, or Articles, in my hands, and I asked his permission to *consult* you.[1]

Writing from Oriel on November 9, 1841, Mr. Newman encloses to Mr. Hope a draft of his since celebrated *Protest* against the Jerusalem Bishopric, asking him 'to cast a legal and historical eye' over it, and give him his 'opinion on the first blush.' He adds: 'The words "not in particular cases and accidentally, &c.," are to avoid hitting out at Prince Albert.' I subjoin a copy of this draft, as without it some things in the correspondence which follows would not be perfectly understood.

[PROTEST, ETC.]

Whereas the Church of England has a claim on the allegiance of Catholic believers only on the ground of her own claim to be considered a branch of the Catholic Church:

And whereas the recognition of heresy, indirect as well as

[1] The correspondence ended in Mr. Gladstone's declining the Trust.

direct, goes far to destroy such claim in the case of any religious body making it:

And whereas to admit maintainers of heresy to communion without formal renunciation of their heresy goes far towards recognising it:

And whereas Lutheranism and Calvinism are[2] heresies repugnant to Scripture, springing up three centuries since, and anathematised by East as well as West:

And whereas it is reported that the most Reverend Primate and other Right Reverend Rulers of our Church have consecrated a Bishop with a view to his exercising spiritual jurisdiction over Protestant—that is, Lutheran and Calvinistic congregations in the East under the provisions of an Act made in the last Session of Parliament to amend an Act made in the 26th year of the Reign of His Majesty King George III. intituled an Act to empower the Archbp. of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being to consecrate to the office of a Bishop Persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions, dispensing at the same time, not in particular cases and accidentally, [*in pencil*; 'something wanting'] with any abjuration of error on the part of such congregations, and with any reconciliation to the Church on the part of the presiding Bishop, thereby giving in some sort a formal recognition to the heresies which such congregations maintain:

And whereas the dioceses in England are connected together by so close an intercommunion that what is done by authority in one immediately affects the rest:

On these grounds I in my place, being a priest of the English Church, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, by way of relieving in relief of my conscience, do hereby solemnly protest against the measure aforesaid and disown it, as removing the E. C. from her present ground, and tending to her disorganisation.[3]

[2] Here the word 'involve' is struck out, and 'are' written over it.

[3] This document, as above given, is from a copy, excepting the last paragraph, which is in Mr. Newman's hand.

J R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

Private. 6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn:
November 10, 1841.

Dear Newman,—On receipt of yours this morning, I immediately asked and obtained leave of Bunsen to state *to a friend* the general tenor of the Articles for the Jerusalem Bishopric as now framed. The sense of the principal provisions is as follows:—

1. All the present plans and instructions are to be regarded as provisional; and the whole submitted for approval or correction some time hence to an Episcopal meeting at Lambeth.

2. No person will be received from the Orthodox Greek Church into the proposed College at Jerusalem without the consent (if in Holy Orders) or acquiescence (if a layman) of his ecclesiastical superiors.

3. The 39 Articles are to be assented to by all candidates for Orders, of whatever nation; Germans, in order to show that they are able to officiate in their own country, are to bring proof that they have subscribed to the Augsburgh Confession.

4. The dependence of the Bishop of Jerusalem upon the See of Canterbury is to terminate either upon the full reunion of the English and Orthodox Greek Churches, or upon the establishment of an acknowledged Hebrew nation and Church upon the spot.

These Articles I think it indispensable you should know before making any protest—not that I think the 39 Article clause by any means obviates your objection — indeed, it implies more perfect unity than the old plan—(which is the one I have all along most felt and insisted upon, and with regard to which I am still more uneasy on account of the various and uncertain views as to the formation of a Protestant protectorate extending even beyond the Lutherans and Calvinists)—but because the first Article keeps the question, *as a judgment of the Church*, still unsettled, and (though I fear the practical proceedings will sufficiently compromise us in the eyes of all

Christendom) allows a formal discussion of the measure to take place before Catholics are bound to protest against it. I would suggest, therefore, that you should rather proceed by way of memorial or complaint to the Bishops, in order to make them feel of how vast an importance their judgment will be. And as there will probably be an interval of six months at least until they can meet, a full consideration of the subject may be had.

The first article is in my eyes the strongest condemnation which the Archbishop and his colleagues could pass upon their own proceedings. They acknowledge and violate the authority of the Church in the same act. A provisional act of communion when all communion may hereafter be reprobated is a strange act indeed. This reference to the Episcopal Bench, however, introduces a jurisdiction the decision of which must be taken as the most formal sentence which our Church can give—and, if it be a wrong one, the time for action will be almost come.

Of an intention existing variously in various minds to raise up a Catholicity *of extent* against the Catholicity of Rome I have abundant evidence. Some would do it by extending our Catholicity to Protestants—others, by attracting to ours that of Eastern bodies who have any claim to it. Both principles are at work in this Episcopate—while in the minds of some at least of its originators, a vague plan is entertained of breaking up all the old forms, and, by a religious revolution, planting a new Church in opposition to those now existing. I cannot tell you with what distrust the whole scheme affects me. What I should like, then, would be a full and reasoned statement of our position relatively to other Christian bodies—the grounds which, if any union be at present feasible, render it our duty that this union should be with Rome—the authorities by which we are bound to consider foreign Protestants heretical—the doctrinal and practical differences which interfere as much between us and the Greeks as between us and Rome. On this last point it does certainly seems strange that so many are willing to pass lightly over corruptions in the Greek which in the Roman communion are brauded with every note of opprobrium. If this could be fairly done and brought before the

Bishops previous to their meeting, then we might quietly sit down and wait the result. The reproach on our Church in the meantime we may bear as an evil which our state of discipline has brought upon us.

I cannot tell you how much I have lately had to admire W. Gladstone's conduct. Asked from a quarter which he thought it his duty, if possible, to obey, to become a trustee of the fund for the Episcopate, he has shown a mixture of humility and patient resolution which I assure you has been to me a valuable lesson. His presence at the Consecration was only given upon the security of the first of the above Articles; and his permanent acceptance of the Trust still depends upon this and upon full explanation of other points which he thinks not yet clear. The Bishop of New Zealand's assistance at the Consecration was, I believe, based upon the same ground, or at least on part of it.

One point I think worth remarking, though it is rather incidental than otherwise with regard to your proceedings, I mean the admission implied in the third Article that the 39 Articles may be conscientiously held by persons signing the Augsburgh Confession. This, as a rule of interpretation, would little please the Bishop of Chester, and may be made an argument which would weigh with many of the bench.

In conclusion, I have marked one or two parts of the Protest which I think might be made more clear. And I must beg that this letter may be kept private by you until I have your view of its contents.

Yrs ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

P.S.—The Bp. of Chester's charge seems to me (as I think to you) too vague to [be] legally laid hold of.

Rev. J. H. Newman.

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—I thank you with all my heart for the trouble you have been at in my matter, and for your advice. I have thought a good deal of it, and wish I could take it. As yet I cannot get my reason to see things differently, and I suppose I must go by *it*. It is very difficult to analyse the mixed considerations which go to make me persist in my intention of a protest. However, I shall have some hours more, since I shall just take the chance of your having something more to say.

I distrust Bunsen indefinitely. I could fancy even he had ambitious views of reforming our Church. This is a great crisis. Things slip through one's fingers by delay. Private communications are among the best weapons of management. Be sure of this, if you would be a Machiavelli. Great people whisper to Gladstone, and to Selwyn (men whom I respect far too much to be pleased at your thinking it necessary to defend them—for they are above the need of it), and to Pusey—and beg them to wait and see—and then half-promises are added; and meanwhile the business is done. This is what we call temporising.

Now I know it is a most unpleasant, nauseous thing to make this protest, but I cannot help thinking that the utmost harm it will do is to make people think me a bitter fanatic. I have nothing to lose. I owe nothing (I could almost add), I fear nothing in certain quarters. On the other hand, I think a protest, in spite of the censure which would be heaped on the author of it, might do good. They will believe nothing but *acts*. Representations have been made to them without end. *They* act, why may not I? Semper ego auditor tantum? Why may not I be troublesome as well as another?—especially when thereby I seem to ease my conscience.

I do not like the very thought of the crisis passing unobserved. One protest is enough for the purpose; more would seem to challenge counting.

A memorial must be formal, measured, private. And such

an exposition as you propose, most desirable as it would be, would be a book. It strikes me I have facts enough to go upon. And to be closer to them, I propose to word my sentence thus: 'Whereas it is reported that the Most Rev. &c. have consecrated a Bishop, with a view to his exercising spiritual jurisdiction over Protestant, that is, L. and C. congregations in the East (under an Act made in the last Session of Parliament to amend an Act made in the 26th year of the Reign of &c., intituled, An Act to empower &c.), dispensing at the same time with &c.'

It is miserable to be in the forlorn situation in which I find myself, and I know I have no ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς, but am groping in the dark. Yet I do not see better than to do as I propose.

Do you know that Pusey is writing a kind of Ἀπολογία, addressed to the Bishops about their charges? I forget. . . .

You must not be hard with the poor fellow whose French letter I send you.[4] He wrote under direction of persons older than himself, who wished to do the French *good*, and he bargained for a strict incognito. He feels every word of it, though it be not English.

And now, my dear Hope, I have inflicted enough sadness, if not dulness on you.

Ever yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Oriel College: November 11, 1841.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn:
November 12, 1841.

Dear Newman,—On considering your letter received this morning, I was not much surprised at your still adhering to the Protest—nor am I aware that I can urge anything valid against your view of opposing acts to acts. If you are to *protest*, it had better be before the Bishops have acted collec-

[4] Doubtless a letter in the *Univers*, which excited great attention about that time, the author of which was the late J. D. Dalgairns, of Exeter College, afterwards so well known as the Rev. Father Dalgairns of the Oratory.

tively, than after it. But I still feel the want of a fuller statement about the Lutherans and Calvinists than your summary language in the Protest gives. Palmer's view of the excusableness and necessity of their position is the popular one; and, while their condemnation by Rome is considered worthless to us, because we are substantially included in it, their condemnation by the Greek Church is little known, and its importance, especially in regard to our communion with them at *Jerusalem* (where I believe the Council met which condemned them), and in the face of the Greek Church, seems to have met with no consideration. Again, the intercourse which at various times has been sought, if not accomplished, with Foreign Protestants by our own communion, is a *primâ facie* argument in their favour, which requires to be set aside. In short, I was myself startled to find them so broadly called heretics, and, as I certainly have no love for them or their principles, the effects of the term would probably be overwhelming with those who have. Then further, I used the substance of your view yesterday in conversation with Gladstone, and he opposed two points to it. One, that the superintendence of Lutheran communities at Jerusalem under clergy of our own ordination is not communion with the Lutheran body, but only with individual congregations, whose conduct implies the renunciation of their error. The other, that he knew not by what form communities were to be reconciled. For my part, neither of these arguments weigh much with me, but I think it well you should have them. Lastly, I think it would be well that the *present* state of the German Protestants, as well as the history of their body, should be referred to.

As to the language of the Protest otherwise I liked it very much, particularly the last sentence which intimated the move Protestant-wards and the consequences.

At the end of the second sentence there is an 'it,' which I think would read better were it 'such heresy.' There is another 'it' in the sentence preceding, I think, which confuses. I speak, however, from memory, as I forgot to mark the paper.

I think it very important that the Protest should be yours only. Your name implies many others, but the signature of many others would cause excitement both to them and the other party without doing any good. I fear, too, from the tone of your letter, that you have not full sympathy from *all* your friends in the view you take of the Protestantism. It was my first alarm, and it was only by Dr. Pusey's answer to my letter that I was ever reassured. All my comfort about it, however, has now long ceased.

. . . Do not fear giving me trouble in such matters as your late letters have been about. I am ill read, but I believe my feelings are more with you than with any one else I know. I do not like patch-work, and when some great principle is clear I can put up with much that is repugnant in detail.[5] I am, therefore, anxious to know the general direction into which your studies may from time to time lead you, in order that I may see what the principle is by which you are prepared to abide. All such communications as have passed between us lately help me much in this, and so you may consider them favours done to me. I feel that the time is drawing on when some decided step, one way or other, will be taken in our Church, and when that step comes I wish to be prepared at least with a general view which will enable me to judge of its effect, and to regulate my own conduct in consequence. Pray, therefore, be as frank and full as you think fit.

Y^rs^ ever truly,
JAMES R. HOPE.

P.S.—I was amused at your warning about private communications. I had just refused an invitation of Bunsen's to discuss the whole scheme on this ground.

Rev. J. H. Newman.

Compare J. R. Hope to Mr. Gladstone (November 24, 1841), p. 334.

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Oriel: November 14, 1841.

My dear Hope,—I heard yesterday that there is to be a meeting of Bishops at Lambeth to-morrow or next day, and this has decided me on doing as follows: On sending my Protest to my Bishop to-night, and also to Harrison, telling him that I have not made up my mind what to do with it. Did I publish it at once it might irritate; but by *having* done it, I secure the possibility of publishing it as a prior act to their meeting (which it is), while they will know the fact at their meeting that I have made it. Could you send me a line to tell me the result of their meeting when known?

. . . As to Pusey, I showed him my Protest and he approved of it; but I have kept out of his way. He is always taking on himself the responsibility of my furiousness or bitterness, and I want him, as far as possible, clear of this.

As to the question whether L. and C. be heresies, I should say that doctrines which 'sprang up three centuries since,' and have been anathematised, not by one part of the Church only, but 'by East *as well* as West,' are such by the definition of heresy. And if so, *unless we* of the English Church have pronounced them heresies, or at least implicitly hold them to be such, I do not see what business I have to be a member of it. My doctrinal position forces me to say, as 'a Priest of the English Church,' that they are heresies—and to treat all precedents the other way as external or political and accidental acts. But further, I am not aware of *precedents* that can be brought against me; and this was the very reason I originally sent the Protest to you, to know whether any 'legal or historical' objection could be brought to it. You sent me nothing beyond the 'present *feeling*' on the subject, so I hope that there is nothing—but I do not much care if there is, though I shall be very glad if there is not—for one's position forces one to be theoretical—and the future must either realise those theories or change my view and position.

. . . [Lutheranism and Calvinism] *are* heresies just in the

sense in which Pelagianism is. I wonder whether there is any canon of our Reformed Church on which I can be hauled up.

. . . As to his [G.'s] former objection, I confess I cannot feel that the plan does not involve an act of communion with the Protestants. . . .

Ever y^rs^,
J. H. NEWMAN.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn:
November 15, 1841.

Dear Newman,—It was stupid of me not to tell you that the Bishops' meeting which you have heard of is of the Colonial Bishopric Committee only; but as I have no doubt that the Jerusalem scheme will be discussed by the Bishops there assembled, your Protest may not be premature. I did not, however, expect it to issue so soon, or I would have looked more into the legal and historical questions which it involves. I am to-day much pressed for time, but have looked into one or two books and send you the result.

First,—I do not apprehend there is any canon or law which forbids you to act as you have done. Convocation it is admitted may even now define heresies, and till they have said L. and C. are not heresies I presume any member of the Church may say they are. The Ecclesiastical Courts, it is thought, have received their direction upon the subject from the provisions of 1 Eliz. c. i., which you will find in Gibson's Codex 351, but this regards only the High Commissioners, and at any rate does not affect Convocation.

Second,—I am not aware of any declaration of the Church of England formally recognising L. and C. *Sympathy* it has shown with Foreign Protestants generally: see Gibson's Codex 635, &c., and various acts—some amounting pretty much to the Jerusalem scheme—have been sanctioned by the Prelates, or some of them. I set down the references as they come to hand, not having leisure to distinguish the cases: Strype, Parker, vol. i. 521; Grindal, 198; Ann. vol. i. pt. 2. p. 271

(cited by Cardwell, 'Documentary Annals,' i. 307); Decrets of the Government, &c., in the Reformed Churches, &c., London, 1662, 4to, generally, and particularly p. 63 *et seq.* (note, p. 73); Cardwell, 'Documentary Annals,' vol. ii. p. 48, No. 117; Wilkins, 'Concilia,' 4, p. 454, and pp. 461–2.

The subject will be further illustrated by y^e^ history of y^e^ Walloon Churches in England, and (qu.?) by the Synod of Dort.

All this I write very hastily, and perhaps you may find less than I expect under these references.

If I mistake not there is at *Turin* a sort of mixed Protestant chapel supported in part by the Embassy—but this is political? also as to the Vaudois?

I suspect we shall find that the raising of this point will go far to settle whether the existing English Church adopts the Protestant or the Catholic principles which have been alternately held by our forefathers.

I will stir up the Poetry Professorship before I start. If I have not done much about it hitherto, it has been chiefly from anxiety, illness, and overwork.

Would it not be well that an article should appear in the 'Times,' showing peaceful men the tendency of the proposed contest? . . .

Would you be satisfied if Confirmation were added to the Articles?

Y^rs^ ever truly,
JAMES R. HOPE.

A few days later, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone, dated Palace, Sarum, November 19, 1841, and marked 'private,' Mr. Hope says:—

I find that I have had the honour of being coupled with you by Bunsen in a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, as evincing cordial sympathy with his objects in the Jerusalem scheme. . . . The circumstance confirms me in my wish that I had not been so active about the Bill, since it may easily be under-

stood that I was working for the measure founded on it, of which all along I have had great mistrust, which I should hope my letter to Abeken sufficiently disclaims. . . . Lastly, that this is the [first] move in a plan for constructing a new Catholicity of *extent* against the Church of Rome, I gain daily more evidence, and into such a plan for gathering up the scraps of Christendom and making a new Church out of them I do not think that I for one can ever enter.

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

My dear Hope,—Keble was frightened at my Protest, and against its publication. Pusey is disappointed if it is not published. I have just heard from the Bp. of O., and enclose a copy of his note, *which pray burn.* I accompanied the Protest with a strong note, for which I expected a rebuke, saying that we were in some quarters not only not sanctioned, but silenced, and that if men who believe the articles of the creed were taught from authority that the E. Ch. was not the Ch. Catholic, they would seek it elsewhere. You see how kind he is.

It also gives me hope. Does the Bp. of Exeter know of the proceedings at Lambeth more than the Bp. of O.? Is he not likely to put a spoke in the wheel? The Duke of Wellington has disgusted him—would that he could get disgusted with Protestantism. Why should he not split up this Bunsen league? But I do not like to criticise.

Every nerve is being exerted against Williams. Wadham is rising *as* a College, and has told one of its members that if Williams is beaten Convocation is to go on to other stringent measures against us. I think all persons should know the exact state of the case. Nothing would more delight the Heads, in their own dominions supreme as they are, than to drive certain people out of the Church. Mordecai can neither do them good nor harm, and but annoy them. Whether the Bps., or at least some of them, would like it, is another matter.

I am very sorry to hear that you have not been well—do take care of yourself.

Yrs most sincerely,
JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Oriel: November 19, 1841.

[P.S.] Our Provost (*entre nous*) has asked a man why he was not at Chapel on Nov. 5, and because he did not like the State Service has said he will not give him testimonials for orders.

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Rev. J. H. Newman.

Palace, Sarum: November 22, 1841.

Dear Newman,— . . . The Bishop of O.'s reply is very satisfactory (I have burnt it as desired). I think it likely that the Bp. of Exeter is in the same ignorance, and I should think that he would move with effect in the matter. There is a great jealousy amongst some at least of the Bps. of the monopoly of power exercised by the Abp. and Bp. of L., and the proposal to submit matters *after they are settled* to all the Bps. is so plain an acknowledgment that they ought to have been so submitted before the settlement that it will give this feeling a manifest occasion for expressing itself. At the same time possession is much in law, and I fear the censure of the Primate implied in upsetting his scheme may be an argument against so doing. . . . I think it would be well that Bowyer should communicate with the Bp. of Ex., giving him what he knows of the scheme, and suggesting that for greater certainty the Bp. should apply to the Primate for particulars. It is too bad that the Bps. should continue in ignorance of what so nearly concerns them, while so very objectionable and at the same time so vague a statement is before the world as that which I saw on Saturday (in the 'Record') as emanating from the Bp. of L. and his committee. The boldness of speaking (as there) of the Bp. being the representative of 'the Reformed Church' is extreme. Keble I see has raised some of the same points as Gladstone. As to forms of reconciliation, it is worth observing that the one lately imposed by the Bp.

of L. on some poor foreign priests applies also (if I mistake not) to Protestant Separatists. It is Wake's or Tenison's, and is in the 4th vol. of Wilkins' 'Concilia.' I suppose, however, that awkward cases in modern practice might be adduced of Dissenting ministers being ordained and continuing the care of their former congregation without any reconciliation of the members of it.

As to publishing the Protest *alone* I much doubt. If a statement of the reasons of its being made were added I should think its publication desirable—at any rate, that something tangible should be put forth about the matter which would set it in its true light. The Protest alone would be startling, and to many unintelligible. In any such statement it would be well to show that the administration of sacraments by clergy in our orders under the authority of a Bishop is as perfect an act of communion as can be conceived—(I say this because Gladstone did not see it also). I think, also, it would be well to remind people of all they have been hearing and saying of late about the difference between our and the foreign reformation. To point out the kingly origin of the present Prussian community—the expulsion and emigration of the Lutherans—and the grave doubts which exist (and which Palmer in his B. on the Ch. admits) as to whether the present Germans can be considered even as good as they were in Luther's time.

. . . In any statement you put forth it would be well (if you can conscientiously) to say that the policy of our rulers at present is to remain as quiet as possible, and to let the present struggle within the Church itself issue one way or other before they look abroad to other churches or communities—the Jerusalem move *quoad* the Protestants being an argument for an equivalent move towards Rome. The idea that the scheme is opposed because parties wish rather for Rome, and not simply because it bears upon the character of our own Church, is one which I know is being put forward; and I have little doubt that if treated as a question between Anglicanism and Protestantism *only*, the clergy in general will much more readily —indeed very readily—oppose it. . . . I keep your Protest,

and shall be glad of your leave to show it according to my discretion.

As to the Poetry Professorship, I fear Pusey's letter, by being the first open party move, has tended to discredit our side. What evidence of a tangible nature can be shown of that which we cannot doubt—I mean the motive of Garbett's candidateship? The Wadham story is good, but it is difficult of authentication, and it would be well if more certain proof could be made known.

For my own part I do not think it is any great argument against Garbett that the Professorship is to be given upon the test of theological opinions. I think that in an Eccl. body like the Univ., such a test may fairly be applied to most of the important offices; and it is said to have been so in the case of Maurice and that of Vaughan. The strength of the question seems rather to lie in the ulterior plans of Garbett's supporters, and could those be clearly ascertained much use might be made of them. . . .

Your Provost's refusal of testimonials reminds me of a point I once before thought of. Testimonials, by canon 34, must be under the College seal—i.e. a corporate act. The Fellows, therefore, may stop the granting of all testimonials, and perhaps in the present state of things that course might be wise.

Yrs ever truly,

JAMES R. HOPE.

Rev. J. H. Newman.

CHAPTER XVII.

1841.

Letter of Mr. Newman to Mr. Hope, in Defence of his Protest—Letter of Mr. Hope to Mr. Gladstone on the Jerusalem Bishopric—Mr. Hope's Religious Position in December 1841.

MR. NEWMAN'S reply to the letter given in the preceding chapter is a long one, but I venture to insert it for two reasons: first, as showing the relations of entire confidence in which he treated Mr. Hope; and, secondly, as exhibiting with the utmost clearness the effect which the Jerusalem Bishopric movement was having on the mind to which of all others Mr. Hope most deferred.

The Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Oriel College: November 24, 1841.

My dear Hope,—I send you my thoughts upon your letter in the midst of a very great deal of business which I do not know how to get through,[1] but I hope you will be able to understand me.

I am quite aware that the language of my Protest is strong, but it must be recollected that strong views and feelings are the only justification of a Protest. Had I not something strong to say I should be trifling with a strong act. And I know that it contains what will seem to many persons harsh. Why are we forced to say out all we think in a plain form of words? Willingly would I leave many things in my thoughts in that

[1] Mr. Newman's next letter to Mr. Hope (November 26, 1841) begins: 'If you knew how busy I am with Athanasius (I have been at it from ten to twelve hours every day these six or eight weeks), you would pardon,' &c.

implicit state which seems most charitable and most sober, but new and strong acts in the opposite direction oblige one against one's will to bring them out into form.

Nor do I see that any one should be surprised at my resolving on such a course. I have now been for a long while assuring persons that the English Church was a branch of the Church Catholic. If, then, a measure is in progress which in my judgment tends to cut from under me the very ground on which I have been writing and talking, and to prove all I hold a mere theory and illusion—a paper theology which facts contradict—who will not excuse it if I am deeply pained at such proceedings? When friends who rely on my word come to me and say, 'You *told* us that the English Church was *Catholic*,' what am I to say to this reproach?

I see a great weapon, which is ours to use, which once we used—the Catholic doctrines—brought to light and cast in the midst. There it lies. No man in authority takes up that weapon. On the contrary, men in authority are by their acts preparing to disown it. Men are already handling it against us. Others will use it, if we will not. Is not this a cause for a Protest?

Nor do I see that anything else was left to me. My days of *controversy* on such subjects may well be past. You wish me to draw up some statement: let those do it who are more hopeful that they shall meet with a favourable attention from their superiors. Nothing has happened to encourage me to think that what I consider in my own heart the true living Catholic spirit, and to which alone I care to appeal, is not a spirit which was once in the Church and is not. Let others prove me mistaken by evidencing that spirit. Till then, *aliorum certamen est.* Nothing is left to me but silence and acts. A protest is an act.

I shall be much grieved if what I have done is construed into disrespect, but I had a choice between wrapping up my meaning in the ordinary forms which a Memorial or Petition requires, and plainly expressing it in a Protest. A Memorial, too, is for a measure in prospect—a Protest for acts accom-

plished. I do not mean to say that this measure is completed —forbid it! but the Act of Parliament and the Consecration are done and over; and considering how Church matters have lately been carried, surely it is not irrational to dread that what is to come will not undo so much as is realised.

Nor would I willingly appear undutiful. But all duty towards man is based upon conditions. We obey persons as representatives of the Most High; when they cease to be such we are no longer bound to obey them. The Church is Christ's representative; while certain visible authorities are the organs of the Church they are to be obeyed; but obedience depends on that condition. Scripture gives us the Notes of the Church; according to our opportunities we are better or worse judges of those Notes. I think myself so far qualified to judge of those Notes as to have a right to an opinion in this particular case. Is it undutiful towards our authorities to let them know that there are those who think that our Church is on the brink of measures which will obscure the Notes of her Apostolic authority?

And considering that high authorities have lately distinctly thrown it upon the private conscience of each clergyman to determine for himself the most momentous questions concerning our relations with foreign communions, who shall find fault with me for exercising that judgment which is not only not exercised in the proper quarter but has actually been ruled to be part of my personal responsibility?

What has startled me in this reported measure is this: the setting Bishops to preside over Protestant bodies. Those who have been for centuries separated from the Episcopal succession, and who are in the profession of heresy, require reconciliation. They should come into the Church, not the Church set Bishops over them, as she finds them. Surely this is an Act not parallel to the mere admission of individuals *from* without *into* our communion *sub silentio*. Those individuals whether native or foreign come *into us*. We do not thereby acknowledge any substantive body external to us; such accessions tend to diminish those bodies. But here is contemplated the actual acknowledgment of such bodies, as already parts of the

Catholic Church—a point which has ever been *open* among us, and that by Act of Parliament, ratified by an Episcopal Consecration, in the face of Europe, in the heart of the East.

We do not allow even our own members to come to the Holy Communion without Confirmation; which is a rite both of profession and of recognition, but the Protestant congregations are to be admitted without either one or the other. When a Dissenting minister is ordained (by some individual Bishop) at least he makes a profession and takes oaths. On the other hand, the Canons of 1603 at least show the principles of our Church towards Dissenters, whatever be their obligation, and whatever practices have crept in. Now they declare that 'whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England to be profane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not *restored* but by the Archbishop *after their repentance*, and *public revocation* of such their wicked errors.' And I suppose that a *body* (though not individual members of it) has such a continuance from first to last that it may be considered to have 'separated itself.' How then is it to the purpose that we admit individuals who have *not* separated without public revocation of error? Do we propose to give Bishops to the Methodist *Body*, or the Baptist persuasion, or to the Unitarian? For this is the parallel to the measure now in contemplation. And as to any past recognition of foreign Protestants, so far is clear, that in 1689 the Lower House of Convocation hindered an acknowledgment that our religion and theirs might be classed together under the title of 'the Protestant Religion in general.'

I do not see that I am called upon to state what I mean by the *heresy* of Lutheranism and Calvinism. Heresy has its external Notes like the Church. Any novel doctrine, any doctrine which meets with general condemnation, is a heresy. Again, there are heresies which contain so many aspects, that it is

difficult to say which is their most appropriate form. Such might be mentioned in antiquity, except that it would be thought offensive to do so.

Lastly, we have, I fear, in prospect, though I fervently trust it will not be realised (for alas! where then will be our candlestick?), an alliance with Monophysites and Nestorians. This is a reason for moving at once—lest we begin when all is lost. Already is our Church committed, without her own act, to much that is miserable. In the judgment of some persons, it is always too early to move or too late.

Ever yours most sincerely,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

About this time an article on the Jerusalem Bishopric had appeared in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' (extracted in the 'Globe' of Nov. 19, 1841), the drift of which is thus described in a letter of Mr. Gladstone's to Mr. Hope, dated November 20, and marked 'private':—

According to this article, neither Jews nor Druses, nor the souls of English or German sojourners or emigrants, nor friendly communications form the object of the Bishopric, but it is an experimental or fancy-Church, in which the Church of this country takes the opportunity of declaring its distinctive institutions to be of secondary importance, and joins hands, not even with the Lutheran, but with the Evangelical system, which I imagine in Germany is a term of a lower import?

I am ready individually to brave misconstruction for the sake of union with any Christian men, provided the terms of the union be not contrary to sound principle; and perhaps in this respect might go further, at least in one of the possible directions, than you. But to declare the living constitution of a Christian Church to be of secondary moment is of course in my view equivalent to a denial of a portion of the faith—and I think you will say it is a construction which cannot fairly be put upon the design, so far as it exists in fixed rules and articles. It is one thing to attribute this in the way of unfavourable sur-

mise, or as an apprehension of ultimate developments—it is another to publish it to the world as a character ostentatiously assumed.

I think that, without any violation of confidence, enough might be said to confute the extract in the 'Globe;' and you will feel that, considering what participation our Church has and *may have* in the matter, it is of essential consequence to protest against misrepresentations.

Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone suggested to Mr. Hope that he should use his influence with the 'Times' to get a firm protest entered against the article. Mr. Hope's reply to this letter is so animated a picture of his feelings and views at the time, as to justify me in giving it nearly *in extenso*:—

J. R. Hope, Esq. to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

Private. Palace, Sarum: November 24, 1841.

Dear Gladstone,—[After giving reasons why he did not think himself called upon to interfere as Mr. Gladstone had proposed:]

My judgment in general I know you much overvalue, but by my judgment in this instance, even as it differs from yours, I am content to abide, and I will give you these reasons. We live in a time in which accurate distinctions, especially in theology, are absolutely unconsidered. The 'common sense' or general tenor of questions is what alone the majority of men are guided by, and I verily believe that semi-Arian confessions, or any others turning upon nicety of thought and expression, would be for the most part considered as fitter subjects for scholastic dreamers than for earnest Christians. This point granted, look at the present state of Christendom, and you will see three great divisions—Catholicity, Protestantism, and Rationalism. The first represented by the Romish Church and Greek Communion; the second by the great mass of Foreign reformed bodies and Dissenters among ourselves; the third

existing amongst both the others, but chiefly in the second class, and by many thought to be a necessary development, or even a privilege implied in its fundamental principles.

Poised between the first two has hitherto stood the Church of England, now swayed to the one, now to the other, by the prevailing party of the day. At this moment the struggle within her is as of a woman in travail, and Christendom may be said to be waiting to see what she will bring forth. At a moment like this, when to take a step which upon its general surface implies Protestantism, and which can be secured in its catholicity only by theological distinctions, which (if tenable) are tenable only against theologians and upon argument, is in the 'common sense' of the day to determine the question at issue. Who will believe that distinctions which to your mind are strong had any weight with the hasty generalisers from whom this plan has emanated? Who will be disposed to pause and weigh the particulars of communion when he sees that the parties engaged in establishing it hardly took time even to ascertain its general possibility and expediency? Who can think that Bishops of our Church, who have swallowed the Augsburgh Confession and dispensed with the Liturgy, have attached any saving sense to the one particular of Orders which was in fact a proposal on the Prussian side rather than a condition on ours? Lastly, what will be understood as to the meaning of these Bishops, when men read in a manifesto put out by them that 'H.M. the King of Prussia, having sent a special envoy to seek the co-operation of Her Majesty's Government in endeavouring to obtain for *Protestant Christians* in the Turkish dominions privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Greek, Latin, and Armenian Churches, and by the Jews; and having also applied to His Grace the Primate of All England, whose attention had been for some time directed to that object, to consecrate a Bishop who might reside in the city of Jerusalem *as the representative of the Reformed Church and protector of its interests*, it has been determined, after mature deliberation and with Her Majesty's consent, to consecrate a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jeru-

salem? The duty of the Bishop will be to superintend the English Clergy and congregations in Syria, Chaldæa, Egypt, and Abyssinia, and such other Protestant bodies as may hereafter place themselves under his episcopal care, and be admitted into communion with his Church; to direct the efforts now making in these countries for the conversion of the Jews, and to enter into relations of amity with the Bishops of the ancient Churches of the East.'[2]

What, I say, will be understood by this statement, but that the Bishop from the moment of leaving England (not by any after-process) is to be the representative of the Reformed Church—that is, of a community which is not limited to the Church of England, but includes at least the Prussian Protestants, if not all the Protestant Christians above mentioned? What are the after-arrangements as to communion to do in qualifying the original union implied in the representative character of the Bishop? What, I mean, in the broad sense of religious bonds and differences which is now the test of truth in the greatest part of Christendom?

Here, then, is my position. In the days of St. Athanasius [the omission of] an *i* was the standard of orthodoxy; in these days a sentence full of indefinite words better describes the rule of judgment. We must, therefore, in dealing with the Christians of our day, take one of the symbols which those Christians understand, not those which their forefathers were guided by. Protestantism leads one way, Catholicism the other. We have in the eyes of Europe, and I fear also of the East, entered into the former course. They can see the general character and tendency of our movement, and it is idle to tell them that we are walking catholicly in it. Their answer is obvious: this is not a case of necessity or of imperative justice. Why have you entered the path at all?

Now your mind, I believe, to be of the Athanasian period—mine is of this day—and this German jubilation of the 'Allg. Zeitung' is to me confirmatory of my own judgment herein.

[2] Then follows the Prussian endowment, &c. &c. See *Record* newspaper, November 18, 1841.

I know well that such salvos as may be got out of the details of the scheme are not of light value in themselves, but they belong to a class of arguments to which necessity alone can reconcile me. It is by such that the Church of England is brought through the Reformation, and we are bound in charity and duty to cling to them in that instance; but though a broken plank is worth a fleet to one cast on the wide sea, who ever launched forth on one when he might have stayed safely and honourably at home?

But further than this, have we certainly provided even a strictly theological retreat?

The foreign Protestants rose against their Bishops, framed themselves new Articles, instituted new devices, provided themselves with ministers, often, as it seems, not even by Presbyterian ordination. They were cut off by the Church to which they owed allegiance, and have been condemned formally both by that Church and by another (the Greek) with which we still claim communion. Since then they have run the whole course of Protestantism with a large admixture of Neology. Then the old bodies are broken up and reconstructed (at least in Prussia) by a temporal Prince. And now to this communion (at least to portions of it representing the whole) we give ordained clergy, and take them under our own Bishops—not upon the prayer of the communion itself or by its request and upon its confession that the Apostolical succession is divine and necessary, and that union with the Church Catholic is a duty, but clandestinely as it were, in a remote country, at the solicitation of a Prince having probably political views as well as ecclesiastical, and whose agents certainly have given no evidence that they ask a priesthood of us because they believe that without a priesthood the Bread of God may not be ordinarily had. Not (further) upon any mature investigation of the original necessity of their schism, not with any certainty as to the nature of the changes which their communion has undergone, or with any definite evidence of their present tenets, but loosely and incuriously, dispensing, even in the case of the men we are to ordain, with confirmation, which is an Ordinance of the

Church co-operative with baptism and properly necessary to complete it, dispensing also with the Liturgy which (and not the Articles) contains the body of our Church's doctrine, and laying all these plans with the ulterior view of smuggling, as it were, the Ordinances of God into Germany against the will or at least without the observation of its people who are to partake of them, and thus out of this collection of scattered and rejected fragments to frame an opposition to that branch of the Church Catholic from which we are ourselves derived, and our separation from which is in itself enough (though necessary) to be lamented, without engaging us in raising our hand against it.

Out of this review what theological comfort is to be drawn? Unity with the clergy and Bishops, and reception of sacraments from them, is communion, or else there can be none. To submit to episcopacy simply as a form of Church Government, and without any acknowledgment of its divine character or reception of its ordinances and confession of the Catholic principles involved in it, is no abjuration of schism and error. And so we grant everything; they resign, confess, abjure nothing. And we who grant so easily call ourselves a Catholic Church. They whom we receive so readily are the severed and rejected members of another Church which we call Catholic also.

Had Prussia come to us humbled and penitent, complaining that the burden of separation from the Church Catholic was too heavy any longer to be borne, and that Rome would not relieve her of it, except upon unlawful conditions—had her ministers and laity brought their doctrines and offices under the review of our Bishops, and besought their sanction to what was right, their correction of what was wrong—then none more gladly than I would have prayed that, as far as higher duties would allow, she should become one with us. But as it is, she comes jauntily, by a Royal Envoy, with a Royal liturgy in her hand, and a new and comprehensive theory of religion on her lips, to propose joint endowment of Bishoprics, alternate nominations, mixed confessions of faith, equal rank for her Litany services, and a political Protectorate soldered together

by a divine institution for all who join with her in the abnegation of some errors instead of the recognition of any truths. And, alas that it should be so! she has found amongst our Bishops men ready to grant, without a pause or a doubt, all that she desired. What has been provided otherwise has not been their doing; what Prussia asked, they have made altogether their own act.

And now I have given you, my dear Gladstone, more perhaps than you have time to read, and that with a freedom both of thought and expression which a less private communication, and to one less trusted and loved, would not have contained; but I feel daily more that the great deep of the Church is being stirred up from the bottom, and that I am concerned with yourself and many others to know what spirit it is that is brooding over the waters—whether that Holy One which will create a new heavens and a new earth—or the spirit of our own discussions and errors raised to vex us and make our time here one of still greater confusion and doubt. That in this uncertainty I should be disposed to exaggerate against that side of questions to which my own general feelings are opposed, is a natural, and, I hope, pardonable bias. It is the character of my mind to rest in broad principles, and when assured of their general correctness to overlook minor difficulties involved in them, as well as subordinate advantages or truths involved in those which are raised up against them. Your mind is of a fairer and more accurate cast, and therefore is a valuable corrective to my own. But, as I have before said, I think mine is the mind for the times rather than yours; therefore, while I seek your counsel gladly and thankfully, I do not hesitate freely to trouble you with mine.

Ever yours affectionately,

JAMES R. HOPE.

[P.S.] I trust you will vote for Williams in the Oxford Poetry Professorship.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,
Board of Trade, London.

The following letter, of rather later date, contains Mr. Hope's ideas of his religious position at the time, as conveyed to those of his family circle whom he felt it right to place in possession of them :—

J. R. Hope, Esq. to his Sister, Lady Henry Kerr.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn:
December 18, 1841.

Dear Louisa,—I find that my mother has written to George, and therefore she has perhaps written also to you upon a subject which has caused her much anxiety, and her anxiety about which has much distressed me.

A week ago, when she and I were dining alone, I said (or intended to say) that if Catholic principles were cast out of the Church of England, I should go with them, and that in such a case I should see no alternative but resorting to Rome. It was foolish of me to say as much, considering how different her views are from mine ; but she put a construction on what I said even beyond what I could have foreseen, viz. that I was contemplating a secession from our Church to Rome ; and she has become persuaded that I (unconsciously) imbibed views which have led me to this, in Italy. With regard to Italy, I can only say that . . . while I saw much that was admirable in abstract principle and beautiful in the character of individuals, I returned with a stronger desire than ever that our Church should fulfil her own duties as a Catholic communion, and thus give us the good, without the evil, of Rome.

As to contemplating secession from the Church of England, you can judge how far what I have said above implies such a design. Deep indeed and anxious are the thoughts which the present state of the Church of England must cause every one who cares at all for its well-being. The recent Bishops' charges, the conduct of the Oxford Heads of Houses about Tract 90, the refusals of Ordination which have recently taken place, the Jerusalem Bishoprick—all concur to show that a crisis is at hand, and that the worst results are possible. But

to contemplate these results as a misfortune which *may* occur, and to anticipate them either by act or desire, are so different matters that none acquainted with the subject would argue as my mother has done. Fearfully, indeed, do I look forward to the time (if it should ever come) when the Church of England shall declare itself un-Catholic, and cast its true children upon the world. For what then will be left us? But I still hope better things, and, as I have already said, it was foolish in me to say anything about the subject to my mother.

It is with the view of keeping things quiet that I have joined Williams' Committee. It is with the same view that I am about to publish a letter about the Jerusalem Bishoprick. If I am wrong in my principles may God forgive and guide me! If I am right—or as long as I think I am right—I must use the opportunities and ability which are given me, according to the light which I have.

If my mother should have written to you—or indeed at any rate—pray endeavour to allay her fears. I wrote her a long explanation, and she agrees to say nothing more on the subject to me. . . . To prevent misconstruction even by you, I repeat that in the Church of England, *being Catholic*, I wish to live and die—*becoming openly un-Catholic*, I must forsake her, which God avert.

Yours affectionately,
JAMES R. HOPE.

The concluding paragraph of this letter may be illustrated by a passage in Lord Blachford's letter to Mr. Edward S. Hope (already quoted from, in p. 270):—

His [Mr. Hope-Scott's] religious change was very deliberate. . . . In 1841 he had begun to contemplate it as a possibility. In that year I showed him a letter from a common friend (Dr. Newman) touching his own perplexities, and adding (I write from memory) that in his view 'the Church of England was on her trial—that if, without disruption, she could contain the Catholicity of the first centuries, well; but if not, that she

afforded no home for him.' Hope-Scott's observation was: 'Well, I am prepared to 'list on those terms.' Of course the phrase meant that he placed himself more or less in a state of suspense, and soon after that time his interest in the Anglican movement began, I think, to fail, as in a thing that had exhausted itself, and a feeling of dissatisfaction to arise which led him ultimately to the Church of Rome.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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